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THE INFLUENCE OF ROBERT GARNIER ON ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

BY

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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is the investigation of the causes and results of the influence of Robert Garnier, the most eminent French tragedian of the sixteenth century, on Elizabethan drama during the later years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and the early years of her successor.

Of all the different types and branches of Elizabethan drama, the classical plays of the time have received the least thorough treatment. The following work was undertaken, not with the intention of arrogating to these classical tragedies an importance equal to that of the romantic or popular dramas of the period, but with the belief that a careful study of certain phases of those dramas which were modeled more or less directly upon classical patterns would be of value in the study of the great romantic drama of the age.

Garnier's influence on the group of writers associated with the Countess of Pembroke has not gone unnoticed by students of Elizabethan literature, but it has been so generally confused and identified with the purely Senecan influence in English tragedy that its most distinctive characteristics have been largely overlooked. In order to show more clearly the nature of Garnier's influence, a chapter is given to pointing out the distinctions and differences between the style, the method, and the general attitude of Garnier, and those of his own chief source of influence, the Roman tragedian, Seneca. The basis of Garnier's appeal to those English writers who accepted him as mentor and guide, and their reasons for choosing him as a model, are discussed in detail.

My hearty thanks are due to the Elizabethan Club for the generous loan of the quarto of Lady Carew's *Mariam;* to Mr. Andrew Keogh, Mr. Henry R. Gruener, and others of the staff of the Yale Library, and to Mr. George Parker

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

I. Introduction: Robert Garnier.

An Account of Garnier's Life and Character and a Survey of his Dramatic Works 1

II. Garnier's Relations to Seneca.

A Study of the Distinctions between the Dramatic Principles and Practices of the two Dramatists 33

III. The Basis of Garnier's Appeal to Lady Pembroke and her Circle.

A Study of the Reasons underlying the Choice of Garnier's Tragedies by Lady Pembroke as Models for the Composition of English Tragedies 65

IV. The Nature and Extent of Garnier's Influence on Elizabethan Drama.

A Discussion of the Direct Results of Garnier's Influence:

(a) the Translations of Lady Pembroke and Thomas Kyd;

(b) the Direct Imitations of the Garnier Tragedy by Daniel and Brandon;

(c) the Later Tragedies, based on the Garnier Model, by Daniel, Greville, Alexander, and Elizabeth Carew;

(d) Garnier's General Influence on the Subject-matter, Form, Style, etc., of Elizabethan Tragedy 84

V. Conclusion: The Failure of Lady Pembroke's Movement.

A Summary of the Causes of the Failure of Garnier's Influence to produce any Lasting Results in English Drama 181

Bibliography 190

THE INFLUENCE OF ROBERT GARNIER ON ELIZABETHAN DRAMA.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction: Robert Garnier.

It has rarely fallen to the lot of an author who shone with the brilliance of a star of the first magnitude in his own days, to undergo such a profound eclipse as has obscured the name of Robert Garnier during the past three centuries. Few authors of any age have received such enthusiastic praise and homage from their contemporaries, only to meet such complete neglect at the hands of the generations that followed them. The commendatory sonnets prefixed to Garnier's tragedies are of interest now chiefly as furnishing a *locus classicus* for expressions of extravagantly enthusiastic praise, and because they show with what superb irony the judgment of time may reverse the verdicts of the *savants* of an age. Three centuries and a half ago, the most prominent literary men of France were casting about for the fittest tributes to pay to the man whom all delighted to honor. Pierre de Ronsard led the procession with the following sonnet to the author of *Porcie:*

Ie suis raui quand ce braue sonneur
Donte en ses vers la Romaine arrogance,
Quand il bastit Athenes en la France
Par le cothurne acquerant de l'honneur.
Le bouc n'est pas digne de son honneur,
  Le lierre est trop basse recompanse,
  Le temps certain qui les hommes auance
  De ses vertus sera le guerdonneur.
Par toy GARNIER la Scene des François
  Se change en or, qui n'estoit que de bois,
  Digne où les grands lamentent leur Fortune.
Sur Helicon tu grimpes des derniers,
  Mais tels derniers souuent sont les premiers
  En ce bel art, où la gloire est commune.

Jean Dorat could not content himself with the vulgar French, but offered a tribute in Latin, in which other lands and poets than France and the French were made to do homage to Garnier:

> Tres Tragicos habuisse vetus se Graecia iactat:
> Vnum pro tribus his Gallia nuper habet.
> Aeschylon, antiqua qui maiestate superbus
> Grande cothurnato carmen ab ore sonat.
> Quem Sophocles sequitur perfectior arte priorem,
> Nec nimis antiquus, nec nimis ille nouus.
> Tertius Euripides Actaei fama theatri,
> In cuius labris Attica sedit apis.
> At nunc vincit eos qui tres Garnerius vnus,
> Terna ferat Tragicis praemia digna tribus.

Much the same sentiments, expressed in both Greek and French, came also from the pen of Robert Estienne, who, after reciting the merits of the same three Greek tragedians, concluded,

> Mais GARNIER l'ornement du theatre François
> Bien qu'il vienne apres eux les surpasse tous trois,
> Et seul merite auoir la branche aux trois sacrée.

It is not necessary to extend the quotations. The theme is always the same—extravagant praise for the poet who, whatever the future was to hold for him and his reputation, among the tragedians of his day stood *facile princeps*.

The life of Robert Garnier presents many paradoxical aspects. In the first place, in spite of the lavish praise which was heaped upon him, his friends and acquaintances seem to have known singularly little about him, insomuch that, within a short time after his death, the very dates of his birth and death had been forgotten. Nor was it a confusion of minor details. There is a difference of eleven years between the two dates most commonly assigned to his birth, and ten years between those assigned to his death. No fewer than three different sets of dates—1534-1590, 1545-1590, and 1545-1600—have been assigned to Garnier on the

basis of such evidence as is found in the writings of Scévole de Sainte-Marthe, Vauquelin de la Fresnaye, Jacques-Auguste de Thou, and other contemporaries, and that of the meagre civil records. At his death, then, this most famous of the French tragic poets of the sixteenth century was forty-five, or fifty-five, or fifty-six, years of age, according to the pair of dates we choose. M. Henri Chardon, the standard biographer of Garnier, after carefully weighing all the evidence obtainable, has adopted the dates, 1545-1590, and there appears as yet no reason for dissenting from the conclusions which he has reached.[1]

Garnier was born in the little mediæval city of La Ferté-Bernard, not far from Le Mans, in the province of Maine. The circumstances attending his early life left a profound impression on him, and influenced his dramatic works to no small extent. His family, although apparently of humble origin, seems to have been allied with some of the most prominent families of the little city, which was sufficiently proud of its *bourgeoisie,* its bristling walls, and its ancient rights and municipal privileges, which the families and the walls together had secured during the centuries. Noticeable throughout all of Garnier's writings are a certain provincialism and primitive love of the soil, a real passion for his *douce terre fertile,* and an honest *bourgeois* hatred of tyranny, which do not come there by accident. It was not for nothing that the poet whose chief themes were to be love of country, praise of freedom, and emulation of the stern

[1] We cannot here go into a discussion of the difficulties connected with the determination of Garnier's dates. Chardon, in his valuable work, *Robert Garnier: Sa Vie; ses Poésies Inédites,* Paris, 1905, pp. 4-9, 170-180, explains the various misunderstandings which have arisen. Foerster, writing some twenty years earlier than Chardon, and without the data to which the latter had access, adopts the dates, 1534-1590, in his introduction (pp. xxi-xxvii) to the standard edition of Garnier's tragedies, published at Heilbronn, 1883, in the *Sammlung Französischer Neudrucke.*

virtues of the ancient Romans, and whose dramas were to be almost entirely of a political and patriotic cast, should have spent his earlier years in the burgher city of La Ferté.

After leaving his native city, Garnier went to the University of Toulouse, where he studied law. In his twentieth year we find that he was receiving recognition, not for proficiency in his legal studies, however, but for his poetical compositions. This recognition came in the form of the prize of the *Jeux Floraux*.[2] But his studies in the law were none the less successful, in keeping with the paradoxical nature of the man and the time. For it was a many-sided age of multifarious activities, when a man scorned to content himself with one occupation and one interest in life. Garnier was only one of a brilliant group of jurists who devoted their leisure to poetry, and other phases of literary activity. If Garnier, the greatest tragedian of sixteenth-century France, was a magistrate, so also were Estienne Pasquier, the writer of the purest French prose that the century produced, and perhaps the greatest influence on the language of the day; Theodore and Nicholas Pasquier, his sons; Cujas, his master at Toulouse; Vauquelin de la Fresnaye; Michel de l'Hôpital; Ramus; and Jacques Amyot, the purveyor of Plutarch to modern literature. Here at Toulouse Garnier met Ronsard, also a student of the law, with whom he was to be associated later in Paris.

Nor was the legal profession unique in the versatility of its members. Estienne Jodelle, the predecessor of Garnier in tragedy, and the father of modern drama, was also a painter, sculptor, architect, orator, and man about town. Jacques Grévin was famous as a court physician, as well as author of *Ebahis* and *Jules César*. It was, as a matter of

[2] A little volume, entitled *Plaintes Amoureuses de Robert Garnier, Manceau, contenant Elégies, Sonnets, Epitres, Chansons*, etc., the result of Garnier's poetical labors at the university, was published at Toulouse in 1565. No copy of it is extant.

fact, in view of his services in both capacities—'medecin du corps et consolateur de son esprit'—that Marguérite de France gave him such a splendid funeral. There was also Claude de Pontoux, the poet-physician of Chalon, whose sonnet-sequence, *L'Idée,* gave the suggestion for the naming of Drayton's *Idea.* Garnier's disciple, Antoine Montchrestien, himself the son of an apothecary, in addition to penning the first treatise on political economy, wrote half a dozen tragedies, and found time to do some work as an ironmonger. Bernard Palissy was a worker in stained glass, as well as an author; Jean de la Taille, a soldier, as well as a writer of comedies and tragedies; and Du Bartas, a soldier, diplomat, and poet. It is not surprising, then, that with the abundance of intellectual energy and enthusiasm that caused men to enter every avenue of life that was open to them, Garnier should have been able to grow in stature both as poet and magistrate. He had some practice at the Parisian bar, and in 1567, at the age of twenty-two, became *advocat en la cour de Parlement.*

Here in the capital the young Garnier soon came into contact with the members of the Pleiade,[3] the most brilliant literary group of the century, and the most important in its influence on French literature. He renewed his acquaintance with, and grew to worship, as did all the others, the leader of the group, Pierre de Ronsard. Garnier wrote a sonnet of generous commendation for Ronsard's *Second Liure des Amours,* a service that Ronsard was to render Garnier's tragedies later. The young poet was also more or less intimate with other members of the Pleiade—Du Bellay, Baïf, Pontus de Tyard, Jodelle, Belleau, and Dorat. These early associations are of interest, since Garnier was himself to be the outstanding figure of the second generation

[3] Garnier's general indebtedness to the Pleiade, and some aspects of its influence on his style, will be dealt with later, in the discussion of his poetry.

of the Pleiade, and the writer upon whom the mantle of Ronsard descended, even if he did not inherit therewith a double portion of the master's spirit. Under these pleasant circumstances appeared in 1567 his *Hymne de la Monarchie,* a somewhat florid and jejune poem, in which he invokes the Goddess of Peace to take up her perpetual abode in the land, and to be gracious unto the race of the Valois.

These early years in Paris were doubtless the pleasantest in Garnier's life, but his compensation as *advocat* was not very lucrative, and in 1569 he returned to his native province to become *conseiller du roi au siège présidial et sénechaussée* of Maine. Five years later he was made judge of the criminal court (*lieutenant-général-criminel*). There was perhaps never a more difficult time or place to administer justice with impartiality than during these years of the religious wars in France. It was while Garnier was serving as *conseiller du roi* in Maine that the massacre of St. Bartholomew occurred, and it was during the feverish years that followed this explosion that he presided over the criminal court at Le Mans. At some time, also, during these years of heavy official burdens, he found time to write the eight dramas which made him famous, and with which we are chiefly concerned in this study. Here he remained until he was recalled to Paris in 1586 by Henri III, to serve as a member of the Great Council.

Shortly before he became judge of the criminal court, Garnier married Françoise Hubert, a lady of literary pretensions, and the author of some very passable verses. She seems to have shared the general opinion of the day about her husband's merits as poet and dramatist, since we find the following contribution from her pen prefixed to his tragedy of *Cornélie:*

> Garnier ne mourra point tandis que sa Porcie
> Viura dedans ses vers, viura sa Cornelie
> Auec son Hippolyt; car la Mort, bien qu'il meure,
> Ne sçauroit que son œuure éternel ne demeure.

Sentiments of similar import from the same pen are attached to the tragedy of *Marc Antoine.*

Garnier, as we have seen, was, as *lieutenant-général-criminel,* in a position beset with unusual difficulties during the disturbed civil conditions of the time; and upon a man who took his responsibilities as seriously as did the magistrate-tragedian, the troubles of the day were bound to make a deep impression. His life was constantly rendered unhappy by his seeing all his ideals made incapable of realization, and by the feeling that the time was wretchedly out of joint, with no hope in sight. Whatever faction won, he seemed to lose. He admired above all things the Roman genius for organization and orderly procedure, which made for just and settled government, and he saw all around him a total disregard for law and order, constant civil dissension, a country torn between rival factions, no elements of stability, and everything in a state of flux. The subjects which he chose for dramatic treatment reflect the state of the country. In almost every one of his tragedies there is a background of civil war, and even in his most lyrical moods there is a melancholy suggestion of trouble below the surface. Again, Garnier was one of the most highly cultured and erudite men of his day, with much of the enthusiasm of the Pleiade for reforming the nation's language and literature and life by bringing them into contact with the Greek and Roman classics; and he saw most of his efforts in this direction rendered futile by the conditions surrounding him. In dedicating *Cornélie* to Monseigneur de Rambouillet, he laments:

> Quand la noblesse Françoise embrassant la vertu comme vous faites, Monseigneur, fera compte des choses vertueuses, il se trouuera tousiours de gentils esprits parmi nostre France (laquelle en est mère trés-fertile) qui l'honoreront de plusieurs beaux escrits dignes de l'antiquite: Mais l'ignorante barbarie, qui par l'assiduité des guerres s'est de tout temps emparée de l'esprit des Seigneurs, leur a faict dédaigner les lettres, et par ce mespris, empesché l'heureuse naissance d'vne infinité de beaux fruicts.

In his private life, as well as in his judicial vocation, Garnier had almost Puritan ideals of conduct and morality, and he deprecated the lax conduct of those in power, and the profligate life of the wealthy classes in the city. Somewhat like his own Hippolyte,

> Il se tourna trois fois vers la Cité fuyante,
> Detestant coleré sa luxure mechante,
> Sa fraude et trahison.

We have spoken of the enormous popularity of Garnier's tragedies, and of the great esteem in which he was held by the *literati* of the day, but it must not be thought that this was due to any influence that he exerted in an official way, or, indeed, that he had any influence with the court. For an author so prominent as he, his life was singularly quiet and obscure, and was spent unobtrusively in Maine. He saw others being preferred before him, and rewarded for literary skill with pensions and gifts, of which none fell to him. He made very little effort, apparently, to gain the favor of the court. The collected edition of his works, published in 1585, was dedicated with many flourishes to Henry III, 'Roy de France et de Polongne;' but in general he had always too much of the sternness of the prophet about him; and his poetry, even in its most lyrical flights, had a minatory note which could hardly have been pleasing to the corrupt Catherine de' Medicis or her irresolute son.

Furthermore, there is a vein of republican sentiment running through many of his dramas, particularly the three Roman tragedies, *Porcie, Cornélie,* and *Marc Antoine,* which was not calculated to endear him to the court. Brutus was for Garnier a great hero, the savior of his country, and he never hid his hatred of tyrants or his admiration of those who, like Brutus, put them down. Antigone, in Garnier's tragedy of that name, exclaims against the order of the tyrant Creon,

> D'vne ordonnance iniuste, il ne faut tenir compte.

Garnier is himself addressed, in one of the Latin poems of commendation at the head of *Marc Antoine,* as one

> Qui vanis terror regibus esse potes.

His conception of the duties of a king, and the source of his right to rule, is stated in no uncertain terms by Charlemagne in the opening scene of *Bradamante*—

> Les sceptres des grands Rois viennent du Dieu supréme,
> C'est luy qui ceint nos chefs d'vn royal diadéme.

Although Garnier was in a position of authority himself, and was associated with men of more or less renown, his sympathies seem to have been with the people, the governed, rather than with the governors. This attitude doubtless grew out of his early associations and experiences in La Ferté. In the constant struggle for the upper hand which went on ceaselessly between the two factions in the state, he expresses concern for neither side. His sympathies are with the people who are caught, as it were, between the upper and the nether millstone. Of the two brothers, Eteocles and Polynices, fighting for the throne in the tragedy of *Antigone,* he remarks,

> L'vn le retient a son pouuoir,
> L'autre s'efforce de l'auoir:
> Ce pendant le peuple en endure,
> C'est luy qui porte tout le faix.

On another occasion he writes,

> Les Dieux aiment iustice et poursuiuent à mort
> Tous les iuges qui font aux autres hommes tort:
> Ils tiennent le parti du faible qu'on oppresse,
> Et font choir l'oppresseur en leur main vengeresse.

In addition to his troubles as magistrate and citizen, Garnier had misfortunes of a domestic nature which increased the gloom of his later years. In 1583, during an epidemic which was ravaging the whole of France, his servants plotted to destroy their master and mistress, thinking that their

deaths would be attributed to the plague. Accordingly, they poisoned the drink which was being served at dinner. Mme. Garnier drank of the potion, the effects of which became apparent immediately, and warned her husband before he had partaken. The lady never fully recovered from the attempt on her life, and died in 1588. some two years before Garnier's death. In this same year of the plague, 1583, appeared the last of his dramatic works. The only thing he is known to have written afterwards is his *Elégie de Ronsard,* penned on the occasion of the master's death, and by far the best of the numerous tributes to which the occasion gave rise.

Unlike Ronsard, Garnier never allowed his troubles to make him sarcastic; it was one of the prime tenets of his philosophy that one should bear with equanimity good fortune and ill. In his masterpiece, *Les Juifves,* the last of his tragedies, he sings,

> Las! c'est grand cas qu'on ne trouue personne
> De courage assez haut,
> Qui la fortune et malheureuse et bonne
> Supporte comme il faut.

Although he was created a member of the Great Council in 1586 by Henri III, he spent most of his remaining days in Le Mans, returning to Paris only when it was necessary, and he may perhaps never have served actively as a member of the Council.

Of Garnier's last days, Colletet, in his *Vie des Poètes François,* says:

> Ces disgraces domestiques et particulières estant suiuies de disgraces publiques, ou comme vn bon et fidèle citoyen, il prenait tant de part, le précipitèrent dans vne mélancolie si profonde et si noire qu'il témoigna des lors à ses intimes que la vie commençoit á luy estre ennuyeuse. Néant moins dans les sensibles déplaisirs de voir tout le royaume en confusion et sa prouince toute pleine de gens de guerre qui ne respiroient que le sang et le feu, il crut qu'il falloit en quelque sorte céder aux temps; si bien que se mestant parmi les factieux, plutost par hazard que par dessein formé, et songeant

plutost à la conservation de sa triste famille qu'à fortifier leur iniuste party, il se vist l'esprit tellement partagé et mesme dans vn si grand embarras de mortelles trauerses et des maux présents, et d'appréhension d'autres futures calamités, que ne pouuant dauantage resister à tant de secouses, il rendit l'esprit en sa ville l'an 1590.[4]

This year, 1590, made great inroads on the ranks of those who had made the Valois period famous in the history of the development of poetry and the other arts. In addition to Garnier, there were taken also Du Bartas, Germain Pilon, Jean Cousin, Cujas, Ambrose Paré, and Bernard Palissy. The great day of poetry was over for the period; and, although Desportes was still alive, he was henceforth a part of the age of prose which had already set in.

The popularity of Garnier's works during his lifetime and in the century following his death, is best attested by the great number of editions of his tragedies which appeared during that time. Sixteen editions were printed during the twenty years after the first complete edition of his works in 1585, and more than forty editions are recorded within the thirty years from 1586 to 1616. By 1673, the hundredth anniversary of *Hippolyte,* the number had increased to fifty-two. Since then, however, author and works have alike been almost totally neglected, and the only edition that has appeared since the seventeenth century is the scholarly reprint of his works by Foerster in 1883, the result of a purely antiquarian interest, having all the air of archæological discovery.

In order to understand Garnier's work, and his position in the history of French tragedy, with a view to his connection with Elizabethan drama, it is necessary to keep clearly in mind the ideals of the French theatre of his day, and his conception of tragedy. It is difficult for us, with nearly four hundred years of dramatic history and theatrical experience behind us, to appreciate the entirely different nature of the French tragedy of the sixteenth century. M. Emile

[4] Quoted by Chardon, p. 160.

Faguet, perhaps the most eminent authority on the subject, gives[5] its general characteristics in the following paragraph:

> Tragedy in the sixteenth century resembles in composition and general texture that of the seventeenth century, since it obeys the same rules, but it differs from it in tone and movement. The action is extremely slow; the plot is nearly always unfolded by means of dissertations, and particularly by dialogues, in the form of discussions on general questions raised by the subject of the play, and usually full of platitudes. The tone is generally sententious and pompous, compared with which the tragedy of the eighteenth century seems very simple. More even than the poets properly so called, the tragic poets wanted to 'elevate' the drama—to rise to what they believed to be the tone of antiquity; and they never felt that they had exalted sufficiently the status of the drama.

Before we consider Garnier's dramas separately, we must remember, then, that he is interested primarily in states of mind, and tragic and pathetic situations, rather than in dramatic action. Such unity as we shall have occasion to say that his plays possess, is a moral rather than a dramatic unity. His dramas are concerned almost entirely with the mind and the emotions; they rarely descend into the realm of physical action. Ben Jonson, in one of his conversations with William Drummond, remarked that Daniel 'wrott ciuill warres, and yet hath not one battle in all his book.' Similarly, one may say of Garnier that he wrote of battles and revolutions, of the downfall of kings and kingdoms, and lived in a time of unparalleled excitement and dramatic events, and yet nothing of all this found its way into his scenes. As M. Chasles remarks in his discussion[6] of sixteenth-century tragedy, 'le mouvement dramatique était partout, excepté sur la scene.'

The play is not the thing with Garnier. He is interested chiefly in the reaction of a person's mind to the tragic circumstances in which he finds himself involved. What a

[5] *A Literary History of France*, p. 351.
[6] *Etudes sur le Seizième Siècle en France*, p. 221.

given person does or might do is relatively unimportant compared with what he thinks under these circumstances. This is his chief concern, for example, in the conversation between Phædra and her nurse in *Hippolyte.* Where a modern dramatist would bring about the opposition of two courses of action on the stage, Garnier contrasts by dialogue two different modes of thought or traits of character. Thus, in *Cornélie,* we have Cæsar's indifference set over against the earnest solicitude of his friends; the cynical vivacity of Cassius depicted against the background of the silent obstinacy of Brutus; and in *Marc Antoine,* the ferocity of Octavius contrasted with the kindly nature and good humor of Antony.

The theatre itself is with Garnier not a place to act, so much as a place to talk. Ronsard, in the sonnet to Garnier already quoted, refers to the 'scène' as a place, 'où les grands lamentent leur Fortune.' The word, *lamentent,* is significant; the characters of Garnier's tragedies do nothing but lament. The persons of the plays are called *interlocuteurs* and *entreparleurs,* and they could not truly be called anything else. They are not actors in the real sense of the word. The drama of Garnier is an illustration *par excellence* of plays in which we find the premium placed upon 'words above action, matter above words,' to use Jonson's phrase.

Like the mystery plays of the preceding century in England, Garnier's dramas have no real *nœud* and no *dénouement.* Each play is a more or less arbitrary selection of events in the life of a famous personage in history or legend, which the author asks the reader or hearer to contemplate with him. The tragic situation in which the author places the principal character is discussed by means of dialogue, is lamented, wept over, and reviewed by the chorus, until the author feels that the contemplation is sufficient, and the piece closes. Tragedy, it is clear then, did not connote action to the minds of Garnier and his contemporary dramatists. It was for them merely a story of misfortune; a story, as

with Chaucer, of them that have been in great prosperity, and are afterwards fallen into misery. M. Petit de Julleville observes[7] that the *mystère* of the century before Garnier had been wholly spectacular, and that the classic tragedy of the seventeenth century was to be above all the solution of a moral problem, so that Garnier's preoccupation with different states of mind under tragic circumstances, and his method of treating them, makes his type of tragedy an intermediate *genre*.

Since the essential element in his tragedy, as we have seen, is the contemplation involved, the chorus of the ancient Greek tragedy assumed again its preëminence, to direct the thoughts of the reader or the audience, and to induce in them the proper mental state. With the increased importance of the chorus, the tragedy consequently became more and more lyrical in character. This is true of sixteenth-century tragedy generally, but especially so of Garnier's tragedies. His poetical gifts were chiefly of a lyrical nature, and, realizing where his talent lay, he made no effort to confine his lyrical effusions to the choruses, or to limit the chorus within too narrow bounds. It soon became the most important part of the tragedy; the first part of the act became ancillary to the chorus at the end of it. In the case of Garnier's last tragedy, *Les Juifves*, it is the chorus that has the title rôle, and substantially the same is true of *La Troade*. The whole gist of one of his tragedies may be comprehended in the topic sentences of the choruses.

The variety of metre and the wealth of imagery in Garnier's choruses are in striking contrast to the rather monotonous character of the other parts of the plays. In his choruses he uses every variety of metre and rhythm he knows, and is extraordinarily skilful in adapting words to sense, while in the body of the play he uses only alexandrine couplets. In *Les Juifves* and *La Troade*, for example, the

[7] *Le Théâtre en France*, p. 82.

language of the choruses admirably expresses the plaintive tones of the weeping women, while in the hunting song in the first act of *Hippolyte,* the words of the invocation to Diana are redolent of the cheerfulness and vivacity of the huntsmen.[8]

Garnier usually observes the rule of the unities, stated most succinctly by Jean de la Taille in his dissertation, *De l'Art de la Tragédie,* prefixed to the 1572 edition of his tragedy,[9] *Saül le Furieux*—'Il faut tousiours représenter l'histoire, ou le ieu en vn mesme iour, en vn mesme temps, et en vn mesme lieu'—but there are noteworthy exceptions. In *Marc Antoine,* for example, part of the second act and the whole of the fifth act take place in the monument, whereas the rest of the play quite obviously takes place elsewhere. The conventional stage decencies, too, are adhered to in general, but here and there a violation of the rule occurs, as in the case of the deaths on the stage of Cleopatra in *Marc Antoine,* and Portia's nurse in *Porcie.* The general impression gained from reading the tragedies, however, is one of obedience to the dictates of Scaliger and La Taille.

The influence on Garnier of Ronsard and Du Bellay and others of the Pleiade has already been mentioned, and will be discussed further in our study of Garnier's relations to Seneca, and his influence on English dramatists of the time. The influence of the Pleiade had to do largely with diction and style, and even a slight familiarity with Garnier's tragedies will disclose the faithfulness with which he followed the instructions of the masters of the Pleiade, particularly those given in Du Bellay's *Deffense et Illustration de la Langue Françoyse*[10] as to the essentials of tragical poems. Of their

[8] A more detailed examination of Garnier's choruses will be found in the discussion of his relation to Seneca (Chap. 2), and his influence on the English writers (Chap. 4).

[9] Ed. Werner (*Münchener Beiträge* 40. 11).

[10] Ed. Person, Paris, 1892, pp. 114-5.

matter and manner, Du Bellay says they should have to do only with

> les louanges des Dieux et des Hommes vertueux, le discours fatal des choses mondaines, la solicitude des ieunes hommes, comme l'amour, les vins libres, et toute bonne chere. Sur toutes choses, prens garde que ce genre de Poëme soit eloingné du vulgaire, enrichy et illustré de motz propres, et Epithètes non oysifz, orné de graues sentences, et variè de toutes mainères de couleurs et ornementz Poétiques.

Garnier's tragedies will be found to tally with these instructions in every point. His eschewing of anything vulgar is one of his most characteristic traits. It is this custom, indeed, which accounts largely for the lack of vigor in his dramas. They are wanting in that element of 'roughage' which is as necessary for the well-being of a dramatic organism as for any other. The sturdy, familiar words of everyday life get short shrift with Garnier, as do also the sturdy, workaday people of the world about him. He was simple enough in his private life, and we have already spoken of his love for the people and his championing of their cause; but he feels that it is with personages of high rank alone that tragedy is concerned, for it is they only who can fall from a state of great prosperity into one of misery. Consequently he chooses his words with a view to their fitness in the mouths of his dignified characters. Following the precepts of the Pleiade, he uses many Latinized forms and archaic terms, coining words himself with a facility remarkable even in that day of linguistic innovations.[11] His style is also curiously inverted at times by reason of his undue fondness for the Latin manner of expression. But his remarkable command over words, and his skill in adapting them to express all varieties of emotion, save him from becoming too stiff and unintelligible. Ronsard, in a poem

[11] Garnier's diction will be discussed in detail in connection with the study of the similar tendencies of his English imitators, in Chap. 4.

printed at the head of *Cornélie,* praises him for his *mots bien choisis,* and even to-day his diction constitutes one of his chief claims to consideration.

Something has already been said of Garnier's faculty of imagination. This is displayed in the abundance of descriptive interludes, which are, after the choruses, the finest parts of his tragedies. He pictures events vividly, and since he does not admit action to the stage, his description of the events that are supposed to take place off stage are all the more striking in his efforts to make up for the loss of action. His messengers acquire a facility in reporting accidents and adventures which is little short of remarkable. Some of his best descriptive passages occur in the earlier works, among them the description of Hell, the portrayal of the Ages of Humanity, and the account of the Labors of Hercules, in *Porcie.* The accounts of the sack of Jerusalem, the flight of Zedekiah, and the character of the tyrant Nebuchadnezzar, in *Les Juifves,* testify to his descriptive skill in his later years. Mention should be made also of the vivid narration of the incidents of the chase described in the hunting song in Act I of *Hippolyte,* which suggests in many respects Shakespeare's account of the chase in *Venus and Adonis.*

The question of the stageability of Garnier's plays has been discussed rather vigorously for some time. As one's view of whether they were written for production, and whether they were actually produced in the ordinary sense of the term, depends largely upon the interpretation of evidence that is susceptible of various interpretations, it is not likely that a definite and positive answer can be given to the question. Garnier did not consider himself primarily a writer of dramas. He calls his pieces *mes poëmes,* as in the dedications of *Marc Antoine* and *La Troade;* and in the argument of *Porcie* he talks to the *lecteur* in a way that would never suggest that the piece under discussion was intended to be acted as an ordinary drama. Again, he shows a curious indifference here and there as to what becomes

of his works, an attitude which is difficult to reconcile with the usual feelings of a playwright toward plays which he has written expressly for stage-production. In dedicating *Bradamante,* one of his two latest works, to Monseigneur de Cheverny, he remarks that play-writing is not his particular profession, and, in the argument prefixed to the same piece, he makes the most important statement of all in regard to the acting of his dramas:

> Et par-ce qu'il n'y a point de Choeurs, comme aux Tragédies précédentes, pour la distinction des Actes: Celuy qui voudroit faire représenter cette Bradamante, sera s'il luy plaist aduerty d'vser d'entremêts, et les interposer entre les Actes pour ne les confondre, et ne mettre en continuation de propos ce qui requiert quelque distance de temps.

This rather vague suggestion for any one who may wish to represent *Bradamante* does not seem to argue in favor of any express desire or intention on the author's part to have his dramas acted. No stage-directions whatever are given in any of his plays, and in several of them not even the scene of action is indicated. When the general unfitness of the plays for representation on the stage, and the wholly undramatic character of most of them, are taken into consideration, the weight of evidence seems to be in favor of those who, like M. Rigal, contend that the plays were intended primarily, if not exclusively, as closet-drama.

The chief evidence for the arguments supporting the contention that Garnier's dramas were intended to be produced on the stage, and were actually so produced, is the *Journal du Théâtre Francais,* an eighteenth-century history (in manuscript) of the French stage during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The *Journal* records representations of all his plays at the Hôtel de Bourgogne, adding *avec succès* in the case of *Marc Antoine,* and *avec acclamation* in that of *Bradamante.* But modern critics, almost without exception, refuse to accept the evidence of the *Journal,* and agree

in considering it an unauthentic compilation.[12] Whatever 'représentations' Garnier's dramas may have had at the Hôtel de Bourgogne, or in the palaces or houses of various members of the royal family and the nobility, it is difficult to see how they could have been more than readings of the pieces.

Garnier's dramas, which are eight in number, fall rather naturally into three groups, representing in general as many different periods of development in the fifteen years of his activity as an author. To the first group belong *Porcie,* 1568; *Cornélie,* 1574; and *Marc Antoine,* 1578. Although *Hippolyte* was written before *Marc Antoine,* it belongs in spirit and manner to the second group, and will therefore be discussed in that connection. The subjects of the three plays in the first group are taken from the history of the fall of the Roman republic, and the material is drawn mainly from Plutarch's *Lives.* Garnier shows some originality in selecting his themes. The story of Portia, the wife of Brutus, who caused her own death by swallowing burning coals on hearing of the fate of her husband, and the story of Cornelia, daughter of Cato and wife of Pompey the Great, were both of them familiar through Plutarch, but neither had been dramatized before. As for the story of Antony and Cleo-

[12] M. Faguet is an eminent exception to the rule. In his invaluable work, *La Tragédie Française au XVIe Siècle,* he accepts, with certain reservations, the evidence of the *Journal.* The whole question as to how and whether Garnier's tragedies and the works of other tragedians of the French Renaissance were acted, is not germane to our purpose in this study. It has been elaborately discussed by Rigal, Haraszti, Lanson, and others, in the *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France,* Vols. 10-12. Further suggestions may be found in an article by Colbert Searles on *The Stageability of Garnier's Plays,* in *Modern Language Notes* 22. 225 ff. On the question of stage-production as applied to Seneca's tragedies, cf. G. Boissier, *Les Tragédies de Sénèque ont-elles été représentées?,* and E. C. Chickering, *An Introduction to Octavia Prætexta,* pp. 40 ff.

patra, Jodelle had treated the latter part of it in his tragedy, *Cléopatre Captive,* 1552, and Garnier undertook to treat the first part of it in his *Marc Antoine.*[13] The only invention of the poet is the death of Portia's nurse, a fiction which he acknowledges in the argument of the piece.

However great the ingenuity Garnier exercised in the selection of his material, there is very little originality in his external arrangement of it. These three plays are those in which he follows the Senecan model most closely, and which differ least among themselves. They are constructed on almost exactly similar lines, and *Cornélie,* so far as form and arrangement are concerned, is almost a replica of the earlier *Porcie.* The first act of each of the three plays consists merely of a long monologue and a chorus. In *Porcie* and *Cornélie* the monologue contains exactly 150 lines, while the opening monologue of *Marc Antoine* extends through 148 lines. The choruses of the first acts of these plays have likewise the same general plan. This detailed similarity is not carried out through the other four acts of the plays, fortunately, but the plan and the general impression produced by the three plays of the first group are quite the same. The second act in each case begins with another long speech by one of the principal characters, which is followed by a dialogue arranged in stichomythic form. By this means alone is the monotony of the long declamations broken. In the third and fourth acts, the author brings all of the important characters on the scene at one time or another, and the fifth act brings the play to a close. The conclusion is somewhat arbitrary, but in each case it furnishes the theme for the final lamentation and review of the preceding events by the chorus. Since the chorus serves technically to separate

[13] Of the dozen or more other French tragedies on the theme of Antony and Cleopatra, as well as tragedies on the subject in other languages, a good account is given in G. H. Moeller's *Auffassung der Kleopatra in der Tragödienliteratur.*

the acts, there is no chorus at the end of the fifth act, although in *Porcie* and *Cornélie* the chorus figures in the act.

Action is banned entirely in the plays of this first group. They are nothing but rhetorical pieces, and they have very little about them to suggest the dramatic. Their purpose is wholly moral and didactic. They are poetical dissertations in which Garnier seeks to set forth the horrors of civil war and similar disturbances. *Porcie* he terms a 'tragédie françoise auec des choeurs, représentant les guerres ciuiles de Rome, propre pour y voir despeintes les calamités de ce temps.' The subject of *Cornélie,* in similar fashion, is 'vne grand Republique, rompue par l'ambicieux discord de ses citoyens.' In dedicating *Marc Antoine* to the famous Monsieur de Pibrac, he asks despondently: 'A qui mieux qu'à vous se doiuent addresser les représentations tragiques des guerres ciuiles de Rome? qui auez en telle horreur nos dissentions domestiques, et les malheureux troubles de ce Royaume, auiourd'huy despouillé de son ancienne splendeur, et de la reuerable maiesté de nos Rois, prophanée par tumultueuses rebellions.' The plays themselves are full of sententious moralizing and words of warning relevant to the troubled situation in France.

As has been mentioned above, there are no stage-directions, and the scenes of the plays are not mentioned. If we would learn further about the events of which he treats, we must go to Plutarch or Dion or the other sources; and in much the same fashion as a professor in the University of Toulouse would use in assigning collateral reading to his students in the law, this magistrate-tragedian duly sets forth, at the end of the argument which he prefixes to each play, the authorities for his statements, and further commentaries for those who wish to be better informed about the plot. Thus, in the argument of *Cornélie,* he announces in a schoolmasterly way:

Vous verrez ce Discours amplement traittée en Plutarque es vies de Pompée, de César, et de Caton d'Vtique: En Hirtius cinquiesme

liure des Commentaires de Cesar: Au cinquiesme liure des guerres ciuiles d'Appian, et quarante-troisieme de Dion.

In the first group of his tragedies, we have seen that the subjects are taken from Roman history, largely as recorded by a Greek historian. In the plays of the second group—*Hippolyte,* 1573; *La Troade,* 1578; and *Antigone,* 1579—the tables are turned, and we have subjects taken from Greek drama, with the Latin tragedian, Seneca, as the immediate source. The plays comprising this second group, coming as they do from Greek drama and legend, are not so lacking in action as are the dramas of the first group. But the poet is apparently at a loss to know what to do with the increased action; he is embarrassed, as it were, by the very abundance of it. The framework of these three plays is much looser than that of the first group, but the plays are all the better because they have not the unity of a barrel encompassed by iron bands, the kind of unity so apparent in the plays of the first group. Unity of dramatic action cannot be claimed for these later plays, but there is a central idea and dominating motive in all of them which was lacking in the first group. The three Roman plays are in a sense without a hero or heroine, and without any definite central plan. *Marc Antoine* might just as appropriately be called *La Mort de Cléopatre,* so far as the placing of the emphasis is concerned. The play called *Cornélie* could likewise be renamed *La Défaite de Pompée le Grand,* or *Les Conspirateurs;* and the title of *Porcie* be changed to *Les Triumvirs,* or *Une Tragédie des Guerres Civiles,* without doing any violence to the spirit of the plays. But the second group shows development with respect to unity of theme and motivation. Each play of the second group has what may be called a moral unity. *Antigone,* for instance, has a sub-title, *La Piété,* which sufficiently explains the dominant theme—the pious devotion of a maiden to her father, mother, brothers, and all the fortunes of a falling house. In *La Troade,* the poet's theme is the misery of the final days of Troy, and Hecuba

stands as a symbol of the widowed city, with woe after woe falling on her shelterless head, until she is left at the close of the play with nothing but her curses. *Hippolyte* is the story of the unfortunate love of a woman for an unresponsive youth, which leads to his persecution and tragic death, and to the bitter remorse of the guilty parties. However undramatic and lacking in concreteness the treatment of these themes may be, we recognize in the plays, nevertheless, a unified and dominating central idea where none had been before.

Garnier has learned to practice greater economy in these later plays. Instead of a wasteful series of new episodes in each act, which come into the play without any apparent relation to the rest of it, and go out without accomplishing anything toward a central purpose, we have now only characters and incidents which contribute something of importance to the common fund of interest.

The plays have no longer the rigid first-act complement of one monologue and one chorus. There is now no standard mould or form into which they are cast. No one act in any of the three plays corresponds exactly to an act in another. Each play is now allowed to develop pretty largely on its own lines.

One of the most important elements in the group of plays is the new tendency of the poet toward a psychological treatment of character. The delineation of Andromache's character in the scene between her and Ulysses in Act II of *La Troade,* and that of Phædra in her conversation with the nurse in the second act of *Hippolyte,* represent a great advance over the somewhat puerile and incidental treatment of character in *Porcie* and *Cornélie.* In the remorse of Phædra's nurse in *Hippolyte,* and in the timidity of Ismene in *Antigone,* we are given evidences of real ability in character-analysis.

Although Garnier never attained notable power in arranging dramatic scenes, there are times, however, when some-

thing of the dramatic force of the great tragedians of the century following him is suggested, as when in Act III of *Hippolyte,* Phædra is having her last interview with the young man. She cries in despair (1433 ff.):

> O tourment de mon coeur, Amour qui me consommes!
> O mon bel Hippolyte, honneur des ieunes hommes,
> Ie viens la larme à l'oeil me ietter deuant vous,
> Et d'amour enyurée, embrasser vos genous,
> Princesse misérable, auec constante enuie
> De borner à vos pieds mon amour, ou ma vie:
> Ayez pitié de moy.

Here, surely, we are reminded of the grand manner of Corneille and Racine, rather than of the wooden style of the Garnier of *Porcie* and *Cornélie.*

The third group contains two plays which are unlike each other, and unlike the other six—the tragi-comedy, *Bradamante,* and the tragedy, *Les Juifves.* As in so many other matters pertaining to Garnier's life and works, different opinions have arisen as to their dates. From the researches of Chardon, Foerster, and Ebert, the following seem to be the facts in the case: The first collected edition of Garnier's works appeared in 1580, without *Bradamante* and *Les Juifves,* neither of which had then been written.[14] In 1582 there was published a second edition of the collected works containing *Bradamante,* and in 1583 the same publisher, Mamert Patisson, brought out *Les Juifves* in a separate volume.[15] All of the eight plays appeared together for the first time in the complete edition in 1585.

In *Bradamante* more than in any other of his plays, Garnier breaks away from the traditions of the ancients, and strikes out for himself. A source entirely new for French

[14] According to the *Journal du Théâtre Français, Bradamante* was performed at the Hôtel de Bourgogne in 1580. Faguet accepts the authority of the *Journal* in this instance, but the weight of critical opinion is against it. Cf. A. Ebert, *Entwicklungs-Geschichte der Französischen Tragödie,* pp. 143 ff.

[15] Cf. Chardon, pp. 136 ff.

drama—Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*—is drawn upon. The plot, which deals with romantic love and chivalry, is more artfully managed than any other of his plots. The heroine, Bradamante, a young Christian Amazon, is designed by her parents, Aymon and Beatrix, for Leon, son of the Grecian Emperor. Charlemagne, however, desires to bestow her upon her lover, Roger, a converted Saracen, as a reward for his military aid to Charlemagne. In order to secure her for Roger, who is known to be the most valiant knight in Europe, Charlemagne decrees that she shall be the prize of the knight who can vanquish her in single combat. Leon arrives in due time for the combat, and, curiously enough, brings Roger, whom he does not know to be the lover of Bradamante, to undertake for him the combat proposed by the king. Roger has agreed to do this only out of gratitude to Leon, who had freed him, although an enemy of Leon, from prison. Roger realizes, of course, that his victory will mean the loss of his mistress. Bradamante, before Charlemagne, speaks contemptuously of the knight (supposed to be Leon) who has come to combat with her, and declares her resolution to wed none but Roger. Disguised as Leon, Roger discloses in a soliloquy the distracted state of his mind, torn as he is between his sense of obligation to Leon and his love for Bradamante. He resolves not to exert himself further than to parry her weapon.

Bradamante also has a scene to herself, in which she determines to give her antagonist no quarter. The combat, in which Roger, disguised as Leon, defeats Bradamante, is described in Act IV by one of the witnesses, and the parents of the young Amazon rejoice at the defeat of their daughter by the supposed Leon.

Meanwhile both Roger and his mistress are in despair at the result of the combat. In a happy moment, Marphise, the sister of Roger, thinks of the following plan: She is to charge Bradamante, before Charlemagne, with being secretly betrothed to Roger, and with having deserted him for the

princely Leon. She will offer to maintain her accusation by trial at arms, at which challenge Bradamante is to feign confusion. They carry out this scheme, and Charlemagne, as they had hoped, suspends proceedings until Roger, whom he supposes to be abroad, can come to fight Leon.

Once more Leon wishes to engage Roger to represent him in the combat, but he is unable to find him. Meanwhile ambassadors have come from Bulgaria to announce that Roger has been elected king of that country for having defended it against the Greeks. Roger accepts the throne, and his acquisition of royal dignity removes old Aymon and Beatrix's objection to him as the husband of their daughter. Finally, in Act V, the two rivals, Roger and Leon, meet, and when Leon discovers who Roger is, he generously offers to yield Bradamante to him. The whole situation is soon explained satisfactorily to all. Roger and Bradamante are united, and Leon is consoled by being given Leonora, the daughter of Charlemagne.

The great difference between *Bradamante* and any other of Garnier's plays, or any other French drama of the century, is at once apparent. The author at last shows the ability to represent flesh-and-blood people, and to portray distinct personalities. One does not soon forget old Aymon and Beatrix, so desirous of getting their daughter married to a king's son without their being obliged to give a marriage portion, and Aymon's blustering rage when his son expostulates with him in the matter. The vivacious Bradamante, ridiculing the young and valiant Roger, whom she takes to be Leon, as a 'ieune efféminé,' and a 'débile Grégois,' and threatening to turn nun rather than to marry Leon, is at a far remove from the pale Cornelia submissively bewailing her malign fate. The good-natured old Charlemagne, the resourceful young Marphise, the generous Roger, and his rival Leon, who prefers to do all his fighting by proxy, must all be listed among Garnier's positive achievements in characterization.

Bradamante ranks first among the plays in point of skilful construction, and the artfulness with which the plot is developed. It is not so clogged with the 'sentences' or the tedious moralizing of the other plays. Since it is not a tragedy, it has no choruses, and it is thus lacking in the lyrical qualities which constitute one of Garnier's chief characteristics. It is, of course, the only one of his dramas that has a happy ending.[16]

Perhaps the most important innovation in *Bradamante,* from the point of view of subsequent dramatic history, is the introduction of the confidante. The heroine is saved from the necessity of making long speeches to blank walls by the presence of her friend, Hippalque. In bringing in the confidante, a figure which was to play an important part both for good and ill in the tragedies of the seventeenth century, Garnier indicates that he had at last come to realize the immense gain in dramatic effectiveness when there is even one person present for the speaker to address.

Another modern touch, and another break with the Senecan traditions, is the numbering of the scenes of the play, no such designations having been made in any other of his dramas.

In *Les Juifves,* his last drama, Garnier returns to his first love, tragedy. This last work follows in composition and style the general plan of his earlier tragedies. But having gone out of the beaten path in search of material for *Bradamante,* he remains abroad here also, choosing the Bible and the *Antiquities* of Josephus for his sources. The subject is taken largely from the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth chapters of II Kings, in which the evil reign of Zedekiah (the *Sédécie* of *Les Juifves*), and the subsequent siege of Jerusalem, together with the flight and captivity of the king, and

[16] Cf. H. C. Lancaster, *The French Tragi-comedy, its Origin and Devolopment from 1552 to 1628,* pp. 63 ff., for an account of the relation of *Bradamante* to other French tragi-comedies of the century.

the punishment of his family, are narrated. Here, as in the earlier tragedies, the plot does not count for so much. Garnier's peculiar merits, which we have seen at a more or less developed stage in the preceding tragedies, reach fruition in *Les Juifves*. The play has an elegance and a perfection of verse and rhythm which are not to be found in any other French drama of the century. His lyrical gifts, always prominent, here find their best expression. Especially appealing is the plaintive elegiac tone of the chorus in the third act, based on Psalm 137, which begins: 'By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down; yea, we wept when we remembered Zion.' Garnier's chorus of young Jewish women sings (1213 ff.):

Comme veut-on que maintenant
  Si désolées
  Nous allions la flute entonnant
  Dans ces valées? . . .

Que la harpe, de qui le son
  Tousiours lamente,
  Assemble auec nostre chanson
  Sa voix dolente?

Trop nous donnent d'affliction
  Nos maux publiques,
  Pour vous reciter de Sion
  Les saints cantiques.

Hélas! tout soupire entre nous,
  Tout y larmoye:
  Comment donc en attendez-vous
  Vn chant de ioye? . . .

Car hélas! qui se contiendra
  De faire plainte,
  Lors que de toy nous souuiendra
  Montagne sainte? . . .

Nos enfans nous soyent désormais
  En oubliance,
  Si de toy nous perdons iamais
  La souuenance . . .

Que tousiours nostre nation
Serue captiue,
Si iamais i'oublie Sion
Tant que ie viue.

The chorus is one of the few instances in any literature where a paraphrase of a Biblical passage compares favorably with the original.

There is less sententious moralizing in *Les Juifves* than in the early tragedies, and the artistic value of the play is thereby enhanced. The poet, however, is none the less serious for the lack of 'sentences.' Perhaps in none of his plays is he so in earnest as in his last tragedy. He is making a final effort to depict the desperate straits into which the nation has fallen, and to point out the inevitable result of the course which it is pursuing. As with Judæa, so with France—this is the lesson he tries to drive home.

The treatment of character in *Les Juifves,* although hardly so effective as that of *Bradamante,* is much superior to that of any others of his tragedies. The weak king, Zedekiah; his strong-minded but greatly suffering mother, Amital; the tender-hearted little queen of Nebuchadnezzar, who is afraid of her tyrant husband; and the character of the tyrant himself—all show that the poet has not forgotten what he had learned to do in *Bradamante.*

But Garnier, although in his last two plays he learned to give distinctiveness and individuality to his principal characters, never learned how to impart personality by a deft stroke of the pen to any of his minor figures. The nuntius, the confidante, and all the others who run and serve or only stand and wait, remain nothing but the merest sketches. That skill of characterization by which Shakespeare gives individuality even to such unimportant personages as the groom in *The Rape of Lucreece,* and the nurse in *Romeo and Juliet,* and to scores of others no more important, was beyond the power or the care of Garnier.

Les Juifves is not only Garnier's *chef-d'œuvre,* but the

masterpiece as well of sixteenth-century tragedy in France. It represents the utmost that can be done with the model that Garnier and his contemporary tragedians used. So long as tragedy was conceived of only as a dramatic elegy, and a vehicle for the expression of personal feeling, it was impossible to do any more with it. And as Garnier belonged to the old order, and was fostered wholly in the old traditions, it was impossible for him to change his conception of tragedy. He did break with some of the conventions of his day, as we have seen, in writing his tragi-comedy, *Bradamante,* but so long as he attempted to write pure tragedy, he was under the spell of the ancients. And under this spell he achieved no mean measure of success, becoming the most eminent tragedian of his day. But it remained for other writers, with other conceptions of tragedy, to carry on the development, and, fortunately, in the new century that was just ahead, they were not wanting.

Garnier gave entire allegiance to the dictum[17] of Ronsard in regard to the writing of dramatic compositions—'lesquelles sont du tout didascaliques et enseignantes, et . . . il faut qu'en peu de paroles elles enseignent beaucoup comme mirouers de la vie humaine;' and it was by reason of his desire to inform and mirror the life and conditions of his day, that he became in a sense the founder of French national drama. We have already seen how closely his tragedies are bound up with the circumstances under which they were written. His *Bradamante,* too, is the first French drama dealing with the national history of France. But neither in his tragedies, where he treats of France by implication, nor in *Bradamante,* where he deals with the legendary France of the days of chivalry, is his method that of Shakespeare's historical dramas. England itself plays an important part in Shakespeare's works, but for Garnier to have condescended

[17] Cf. *Preface au Lecteur Apprentif* of the *Franciade,* in *Oeuvres Complètes . . . de Ronsard,* ed. Blanchemain, Paris, 1858, 3. 19.

to the vulgarity of mentioning France, or any incident pertaining directly to her history, in his tragedies, would have been as foreign to his sense of the fitness of things as the idea of saying mass in French would have been to his parish priest. Consequently, Garnier is a national dramatist only by implication and extension of terms. In *Marc Antoine,* for example, one substitutes mentally the term *France* for *Egypt,* when the characters are lamenting the woes of their country, and one understands that the *douce terre fertile* is in reality not the land of the Nile, but that of the Seine and the Loire. In *La Troade,* the griefs of Troy are none other than those of France, and the lamentations of the Jewish maidens in *Les Juifves* when they remember Zion, are but Garnier's own sighs when he calls to mind the disturbed state of his own native land. It would be difficult to find a group of plays, or a collection of literary works of any kind, in which such intensity of feeling is combined with such extreme formality, or such personal sorrow with such eloquent and punctilious ceremoniousness. Garnier is a Quintilian turned Jeremiah for the nonce.

It seems impossible for his works ever to be viewed impartially, or judged with unprejudiced mind. In his own day he was unwisely praised for possessing all the merits of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and to-day he is as unjustly berated for not having all the dramatic virtues of Shakespeare, Racine, and Corneille. The whole matter is one of relative values. It was because Garnier's dramas were so much better than any his contemporaries had known, that they rated him so highly; and it is because he was followed so soon by the greatest masters of both French and English tragedy, that he appears in such a sad light now. His fate in this respect suggests that of John Lyly in England, whose dramatic compositions were immensely superior to any that had come before him, but far below the type of drama produced by Marlowe and Shakespeare, and the other giants who immediately followed him.

In attempting to give credit where credit is due, we should remember that the germs, and more than the germs, of many of the fine things in Corneille and Racine are to be found in Garnier. It was he that took the alexandrine, which in the hands of Jodelle was heavy and stiff, and gave it such vigor and dignity as to make it the permanent medium of French tragic poetry. The 'tragic line' which was perfected by Corneille's genius, was, nevertheless, Garnier's gift to French tragedy. His *Hippolyte* served its purpose, among other ways, in inspiring a greater than Garnier with the theme of *Phèdre,* and his *Bradamante* definitely opened the way for emancipation from the undue tyranny of the ancients. But it was his fate to come in an age of pioneering and transition. His masterpiece, *Les Juifves,* with all its appealing qualities, fades before the greater *Athalie,* drawn from the same sacred source, and his work in general has been forgotten in the success of the better things to which it led the way.

CHAPTER II.

Garnier's Relations to Seneca.

In order to understand at all fully the work and the motives of Lady Pembroke and the other English followers of Garnier, it will be necessary to clear the ground by an examination of Garnier's own imitations of Latin and Greek originals, particularly the dramas of Seneca, and his general use of material drawn from such sources. Such an examination is all the more necessary because Garnier's indebtedness to Seneca has been so generally misrepresented and exaggerated. This has come about, not so much from a deliberate intention to magnify his dependence on the Roman tragedian, as from a tendency to rely on second-hand information, rather than make a fresh examination of the facts. In treating the relations of Garnier and his English followers to Seneca, students of French and English literature have been given to walking more by faith than by sight, and a restatement of the matter seems necessary. Misinformation on the subject abounds, and is purveyed not only by lesser men, but as well by the more eminent critics, who have at times made statements which might easily have been proved erroneous by slight investigation.

Perhaps the best example of this misinformation is the stock characterization of Garnier as a slavish imitator of Seneca, which has become so common that, for most writers on the subject, the name of the French tragedian connotes nothing but the worst faults of Senecan drama. A typical statement of this kind, and one which is fairly representative of most of the criticism of Garnier and his school, is that of H. Schmidt:[1] 'Garnier followed Seneca with slavish fidelity, using ofttimes materials from other sources, but always imitating the bombastic style of the Latin author.'

[1] *Modern Language Notes* 2. 59.

M. Chasles, in his work on the drama of the sixteenth century in France,[2] also refers to Garnier as enchained to both Seneca and Sophocles. The inaccuracy of such a summary of Garnier's work will be apparent from the ensuing discussion.

So far as the indebtedness of Garnier to the dramas of Seneca is concerned, there will be no attempt in this study to minimize the debt, which was recognized and acknowledged at all times by Garnier himself. The plays, indeed, bear clear witness to the influence of the Latin dramatist upon the Frenchman. As for the use of the Senecan type of tragedy as a model for modern dramas, it should be remembered that, from the period of the Italian, Alberto Mussato, in the early fourteenth century, down to Garnier's time, the drama of Seneca had been the general pattern for all tragic compositions. Cinthio, Dolce, and Groto, with more or less faithfulness to the original models, carried on the Senecan tradition in Italy. In France, although the interest of writers, strengthened by the influence of the Pleiade, was in lyrical rather than in dramatic compositions, such tragedy as had been written from the early part of the sixteenth century to the days of Garnier's activity, had followed the same Senecan tradition. About 1541, the Scottish scholar, Buchanan, had written a Latin tragedy, *Baptistes,* in strict Senecan style, and in 1554 the same author dedicated to the Comte de Brissac another work in similar style, the tragedy of *Jephthes.* The tradition was carried on through Muret, Grévin, Vauquelin de la Fresnaye, Jean de la Taille, Jodelle, Bastier de la Péruse, Le Duchat, Rivaudeau, Garnier, and Montchrestien.[3]

[2] *Etude sur le Seizième Siècle en France,* p. 222.

[3] The best discussion and analysis of the Senecan type of drama is to be found in Fischer's *Zur Kunstentwicklung der Englischen Tragödie.* Cf. also the excellent introduction to Vol. 1 of Alexander's works, edited by Kastner and Charlton, and Cunliffe's *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy.*

Garnier, then, quite naturally accepted the only dramatic form which he found ready to his hand, and began casting his tragedies in the approved Senecan mould. But the test of his originality or creative ability has to do not so much with the acceptance of a dramatic model, which was all but forced upon him, as with the use he made of that model. If the test of creative literary or dramatic ability in the sixteenth century is to be determined by strict originality in forms and models and plots, who shall stand? Half the discussion of any play of Shakespeare, for instance, turns on the question of the sources of its plot, and the influences that helped to shape it. It is a commonplace of critical knowledge that some of his earlier plays are his only by grace of the immortalizing touches which his genius added to the less inspired work of others. And the plot of his great tragedy, *Hamlet,* has—who knows how much?—in common with that of its lost prototype. Without forgetting the great gulf that is fixed between the genius of Shakespeare and that of Garnier, we may, nevertheless, maintain in behalf of the French poet the same unbiased attitude with which we view the Englishman's generous use of whatever he found in print, and thought he could improve. The principle is the same in both cases.

The rediscovery of the literature of the ancient world was still too recent, and the classics were still too fresh and full of interest, to permit the authors of the age to become absorbed in new plots and fancies of their own. It was an age of translations and paraphrases. Writers were busy in appropriating and adapting the thoughts and works of previous writers. If an ancient drama or other literary work was good, it was worth translating, worth working over, worth imitating. Furthermore, the writers of the sixteenth century, in common with the Greek and Latin dramatists, had nothing of the modern idea that authors are in every case supposed to think up an entirely new series of incidents to amuse their readers or audiences, and to invent their own

plots. The tragedians of France and England in the sixteenth century, like those of ancient Greece and Rome, drew most of their plots from the myths, folklore, and stories of the ancients. The main lines of their plots were fixed by tradition, and were already familiar to the reader or audience. The interest of those who read the play or saw it performed was almost wholly æsthetic. They were concerned chiefly with the style of the author, his particular interpretation of a subject already known to them, and his manner of presenting such famous characters as Phædra or Electra, Hippolytus or Orestes. The cheap elements of surprise and novelty, considered so essential in modern plays, were not employed by the dramatist or desired by the spectator. The audience that gathered to see a representation of the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus, or the *Electra* of Sophocles, did not assemble with the expectation of hearing something sensationally novel. When Euripides wrote his drama on the story of Hippolytos, or when Seneca was inspired by that drama to write his *Hippolytus,* or when, some fifteen hundred years later, Robert Garnier, influenced by both the Greek and the Latin play on the subject, composed his *Hippolyte,* no one of the three was obsessed with the idea that his subject was daringly original. Each of them sought to treat in his own way a theme that was already famous. And since the plots of their dramas were more or less fixed, the writers were free to devote all their time and energy to the treatment of character, the portrayal of the reaction of different personalities to the same circumstances, the universal significance of particular incidents, thoughts on divine justice, and the embodiment of noble sentiments in noble verse. Other times, other attitudes! The modern idea is wholly at variance with that of Garnier and the ancients, but unless the student keeps in mind the views of the age in which an author wrote, and the spirit and purpose of the author himself, he can hardly expect to be justified when he speaks, or clear when he judges.

The whole question, therefore, of Garnier's originality or lack of it, of his ability and distinctiveness as a dramatist, and of the character of his work in general, has to do not so much with his choice of plots as with his manipulation of dramatic materials which he inherited from his Greek, Roman, and French predecessors in the field. And it is only by an investigation of these factors that we can accurately determine the nature and extent of his indebtedness to Seneca and others.

It is outside the province of this dissertation to discuss in detail the influence of Seneca upon Garnier,[4] or to consider exhaustively the many characteristics which their plays have in common. The connection between the two playwrights is sufficiently treated in almost any text-book or critical work on French drama. It is our purpose here to consider rather the great differences in their work, which have gone almost unnoticed; and as it may fairly be presumed that the similarities in their plays are comparatively well known, they will be but briefly summarized.

The dramas of both Seneca and Garnier are very deficient in action. Little or nothing happens on the stage, although an incredible number of events is supposed to take place off stage, which the messenger duly reports to the audience in a highly rhetorical manner. The plays thus assume an epic rather than a dramatic character, and there is a plethora of long, unbroken monologues. In addition to the long speeches of the messenger, there are the soliloquies and monologues of the principal characters, which are necessary to acquaint the reader or audience with their state of mind. Here and there these long speeches are enlivened by a dia-

[4] An investigation of the connections between the two dramatists may be found in a thesis by Schmidt-Wartenberg, *Seneca's Influence on Robert Garnier,* Darmstadt, 1888. The influence of Seneca is perhaps exaggerated in certain instances by Schmidt-Wartenberg.

logue made up of pointed stichomythic sentences. A chorus[5] separates the acts from one another, and the members of the chorus appear at times within the acts in conversation with the messenger or some other character. The chorus, as a rule, comments on the events which are supposed to have preceded, helps to characterize and explain the occurrences, gives expression to the philosophic reflections of the author, and often receives the report of the messenger.

Neither Seneca nor Garnier is scrupulously careful to observe what have come to be known as the unities, but both manage to confine the events which are represented as taking place during the play to a period of not more than three days, and most often to a period of twenty-four hours. In like manner, the distance between any two places represented in a given play is not so great as to mar the general effect of unity. The 'stage decencies,' although generally observed, are not strictly adhered to, since both dramatists represent deaths as taking place on the stage. The death-scenes in Garnier's plays, however, are never so sensationally represented as those in the Senecan dramas. Neither dramatist ever admits any element of a comical nature into his tragedies. The works of both are full of extended descriptions, mythological allusions, elaborate figures of speech, ornate circumlocutions, and similar evidences of erudition. There is, too, in all their plays an abundance of sententious moral maxims concerning human life and destiny and the universe, platitudinous observations of various kinds, and a rather didactic tone throughout the whole.

Finally, the general form and arrangement of their plays are very similar, as it is in this respect that Garnier follows Seneca most closely. The *dramatis personæ* are comparatively few in number, and the dialogue is carried on by still fewer persons, usually not more than three. Each play

[5] A more detailed consideration of the chorus in Garnier's plays is reserved for discussion in connection with that of the chorus in the plays of his English imitators, Chap. 4.

consists of five acts, and each of the first four acts ends with a chorus. The first act, which often consists of only a prologue and a chorus, serves as introduction, announcing the general theme of the play. Acts II, III, and IV develop the theme announced at the beginning, and Act V contains the final report of the messenger concerning the catastrophe.

The foregoing remarks represent thoroughly enough the elements that Garnier has in common with Seneca, and it must be conceded that these characteristics bulk large in the consideration of Garnier's dramas, and constitute no small proportion of his *materia dramatica* and his style. But it must be remembered, at the same time, that many of the qualities now commonly called Senecan were simply borrowed by the Latin tragedian himself from Euripides, and one could with as much justice tax Seneca with being slavishly Euripidean, as he can call Garnier slavishly Senecan. What determines the choice of the attributive adjective in either case is the use of the material made by the writer who borrows it, and not its immediate or ultimate source. Both Seneca and Garnier selected from the dramas of their predecessors the elements that appealed to their own tastes, and then elaborated, modified, and emphasized them according to their peculiar turn of mind. It is Seneca's peculiar manner of emphasizing and modifying borrowed material that gave rise to the Senecan name and the Senecan tradition, and it is the entirely different quality of mind and taste which Garnier brought to bear on material suggested by others that should be allowed to speak for itself. In a comparison of the work of Garnier with that of Seneca, as in a comparison of Seneca and Euripides, it will be found that the style, the tone, the atmosphere, the manner, the man—all are different.

Thus much for the elements that the Latin and the French dramatist have in common. What is more germane to our purpose, and what is usually left out of consideration altogether, is the immense difference in their work. In the fol-

lowing discussion we shall take up first a consideration of their work as a whole, and then examine in greater detail Seneca's *Hippolytus* and the *Hippolyte* of Garnier. The strong point, and the most characteristic feature of Seneca's drama, is its power of arousing horror and excitement. He was providing plays for the sophisticated and *blasé* populace of Nero's Rome, and, in order to secure their attention, he had to titillate their jaded appetites by piling horror on horror, and increasing the tale of bloodshed and crime to an unheard-of degree. The business of writing a drama became with him a matter of duplication and repetition of details until the desired effect was secured. His tragedies represent a sort of arithmetical progression of horrors. With Euripides and the other Greek dramatists as a general source of supply, he selects the bloodiest plots, and plays up the most revolting scenes. A detached murder is not enough; it must be the murder of a brother by a brother, or the slaughter of infants by their mother. The most sordid phases and passions of human nature furnish his chief incidents—murder, suicide, wholesale slaughter in battle, incest, adultery, family quarrels and feuds, and all that grows out of all these. There is a preponderant interest in sexual themes, and details are heightened as much as possible.

There is hardly a suggestion of any healthy or wholesome influence in Seneca's entire universe. All life is an orgy of crime, with every man's hand against his brother, and a subsequent thirst for revenge. Human beings are constantly avenging their wrongs on particular offenders, and the cruel Fates unceasingly, and with exquisite precision, take vengeance on the whole race. Sophocles and Aeschylus had conceived the idea of a calm and dispassionate Fate taming the excessive lifting up of human hearts, but Seneca debases their conception, and gives us the cheap spectacle of angry Parcæ demanding the uttermost grain of vengeance, like *bourgeois* housewives in the market-place, insisting upon full weights of butter and fish. However Hellenic in origin

the themes of his dramas may be, there is very little of the Greek spirit in Seneca's treatment of them. Restraint and moderation are thrown to the winds, and Aristotle's rule of μηδὲν ἄγαν is unheeded in the confusion.

The difference between all this and the atmosphere of Garnier's dramas is so great that it is difficult to see how the conception of his tragedies as slavish reproductions of Seneca's can ever have arisen. We have seen with what avidity Seneca selects the most sordid themes that Greek drama affords, for the amusement of his luxurious and decadent readers. Garnier, on the other hand, with a wholly moral purpose in view, selects the themes which he thinks will be most edifying to an unhappy and distressed nation. Civil wars are distracting the country, so he chooses plots from the ancient drama in which the constancy and courage of patriots under similar conditions are depicted. It is of Brutus, Scipio, Cato, Portia, Cornelia, and men and women of like calibre, that he sings. It is a time in which, as never before, strength of character and fidelity to fixed principles are necessary, and he writes *Antigone, ou la Piété,* and *Hippolyte.* In prophetic mood, and with a minatory gesture, he composes *Les Juifves* and *La Troade,* to remind his countrymen that a nation, as well as an individual, must suffer if it sins.[6]

Nothing could be more un-Senecan in conception than a drama dealing seriously with national issues, and prompted by a sincere desire to better the conditions of the state. Indeed, one of the most important differences between Seneca and Garnier, and one that is carried on down to their

[6] This is not at all an attempt to plead for the artistic excellence of Garnier's dramas on the basis of their moral soundness, or the integrity of the author's purpose. It cannot be denied that just as Seneca's pedantic sententiousness affects the artistic quality of his plays, so Garnier's intense moral bias lessens the artistic value of his dramas. The point here is simply the great difference between Seneca and Garnier.

respective schools in England, is this preoccupation with national and political topics and plots, as against Seneca's preference for themes dealing with family matters, particularly domestic strife. It would have been contrary to all Garnier's personal and dramatic principles to concoct a play with no other purpose than the exploitation of human frailties, and the exposition of the skeletons in family closets, for the delight of readers pathologically interested in the sordid and unnatural. Symonds[7] refers to the decadent quality of Seneca's plays, and the decadent spirit of the age in which they were written. But Garnier's plays are plays of protest against, rather than of acquiescence in, the prevailing spirit of the time; and there is not a decadent note to be found in any of them.

This tendency to treat his themes with a view to the national aspects of the story, and with the purpose of pointing a moral, is constantly in evidence in Garnier. In the dedication of *Les Juifves,* he says that his tragedy represents

> les souspirables calamitez d'vn peuple, qui a comme nous abandonné son Dieu. C'est vn suiet délectable, et de bonne et saincte édification. Vous y voyez le chastiment d'vn Prince issu de l'ancienne race de Dauid, pour son infidelité et rebellion contre son superieur. . . . La prérogatiue que la vérité prend sur la mensonge, l'histoire sur la fable, vn suiet et discours sacré sur vn profane, m'induit à croire que ce Traitté pourra préceller les autres.

Of all those who have written on the subject of the love of Antony and Cleopatra, none has stressed as does Garnier the disastrous consequences which their love had for the state. His Cleopatra's chief cause of grief, as she sees the catastrophe approaching, is that she has been such a pernicious influence to the country—

> Malencontreuse Royne, ô que iamais au monde
> Du iour n'eussé-ie veu la clairté vagabonde!
> Las! ie suis le poison et la peste des miens,

[7] *Shakespeare's Predecessors,* p. 176.

> Ie pers de mes ayeux les sceptres anciens,
> I'asseruie ce Royaume à des loix estrangères,
> Et priue mes enfans des biens héréditaires.

In all his plays, the major interest is national, political, patriotic. It is not the conjugal fidelity or the purely domestic virtues that he emphasizes in *Porcie* and *Cornélie,* but rather the courage and patriotism of the woman who was daughter to Cato and wife to Brutus, and the lofty Roman sentiments of her who was Scipio's daughter and wife of Pompey the Great. Tyranny, treason, misrule, insubordination—these are the sins that he inveighs against, rather than the personal and private shortcomings of his characters.

The motive of revenge, so paramount in importance in the plays of Seneca, is absent in Garnier's dramas, since there are no private crimes or offenses which demand personal retaliation and vengeance. Only one of his dramas, *La Troade,* has revenge for any part of its theme, and here Hecuba's vengeance on Polymestor for the murder of Polydore is only one of the lesser incidents of the plot of the play. Instead of a passion for revenge on the part of Cornelia and Portia, as the result of the slaughter of their husbands in battle, Garnier represents his two heroines as dominated by a spirit of grief, and they do nothing but submit. In *Hippolyte, Antigone,* and *Les Juifves,* the spirit of remorse and penitence takes the place of the spirit of revenge. The pagan attitude of unyielding hostility and hatred toward the offender has given way to something more like the Christian spirit of submission.

It follows from Garnier's interest in national and political subjects that he draws upon historical sources for his material, in most cases. It will be remembered that in the passage quoted above from the dedication of *Les Juifves,* he speaks of 'la prérogatiue que la vérité prend sur le mensonge, l'histoire sur la fable,' and in general he prefers history to legend. The three Roman dramas—*Porcie, Marc Antoine,* and *Cornélie*—are pretty largely historical narratives, with descrip-

tive interludes and lyrical reflections upon the events narrated. *Les Juifves* is also drawn from the sacred history of the Bible and Josephus, with the same lyrical and elegiac treatment. Seneca, on the other hand, never uses historical subjects, if we except the drama, *Octavia,* which, for various reasons, is no longer assigned to him.[8] The sober facts of history would hardly have allowed him sufficient opportunity for the exploitation of the gruesome and horrible.

An examination of the subjects chosen for dramatic treatment by the two writers is illuminating. From the stories of Greek mythology and from the plots of Greek drama, Seneca chose those which afforded the greatest number of revolting details—Thyestes's banquet of human flesh, Hercules's madness and slaughter of his wife and children, Oedipus tearing out his eyes, and Jocasta stabbing herself with the sword, Medea's slaughter of her children before the eyes of their father, the circumstantial account of the effects of the poisonous coat sent by Deianira to Hercules, and similar subjects. From the same general source of plots, Garnier chooses only three—those of Hippolytus, the Trojan women, and Antigone. The motives of the two dramatists in their choices were characteristically unlike. Seneca's selections were obviously made with the intention of stressing the lurid and the sensational. With Garnier it is wholly otherwise. In the treatment of the story of Hippolytus, instead of emphasizing, as Seneca does, the sexual elements involved, he stresses the purity of a life lived in the open,

[8] The question as to whether Seneca was the author of *Octavia* has been much debated. The tendency of modern scholarship is to regard it as not by Seneca. Luce, p. 35, says that Teuffel in his *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur* ascribes it to Seneca, but this is an error on her part. Teuffel's statement is 'Unzweifelhaft nicht von Seneca ist die prætexta betitelt Octavia. . . . Seneca tritt selbst darin auf. Von ihm kann dieses Stück nicht herrühren, schon wegen der Anspielung auf Neros Sturz, welcher erst drei Jahre nach Senecas Tod erfolgte' (4th ed., p. 651). Cf. also Chickering, *An Introduction to Octavia Prætexta,* pp. 67 ff.

free from the corruption of courts and cities, and the strength of character which such a life engenders. The griefs of Hecuba and the daughters of Troy afford an opportunity for him to dwell upon the misfortunes of his own nation, and Antigone becomes an incarnation of pious fidelity to family and country, in the midst of the reverses of fortune.

Seneca's major interest has to do with striking incidents; Garnier's is chiefly concerned with people and traits of character. Seneca's plays revolve around a conflict of incidents and events, and his concern is almost wholly with externalities. Garnier builds his plays around human passions and emotions, and works from the external and concrete event to the state of mind which produced it. Whereever possible, he treats the whole as the manifestation of some abstract quality, as in the case of *Antigone,* to which he adds the subtitle, *La Piété.*

The style and manner in which Seneca and Garnier develop their different themes are as unlike as the motives underlying their choice of themes. One of the most potent factors that entered into the choice of Garnier's plots was his love of the elegiac and lyrical in poetry, and a survey of his subjects will show how in every case he chose material that would lend itself readily to elegiac treatment. Seneca's manner of developing a theme is such as to suggest the scientific thoroughness which which a modern professional writer of scenarios would set about producing a sensational moving picture. He calculates what will be most certain to appeal to the vitiated tastes of his readers or spectators, and then dishes up, with as much seasoning as possible, the lurid details of his plots. To justify himself, as it were, in those quarters where justification might seem necessary, he interlards the narrative with moral maxims and platitudes. The incidents of his plots are set before the reader with the hard, dry, photographic manner of the realist. Nothing is left unsaid; no detail that can add to the gruesomeness of a description is omitted. In his *Thyestes,* for example, it is

not enough that the horrid banquet shall be described in detail, but Thyestes is further represented as hearing the children which he has eaten cry out within him. Where the Greek dramatist treated an unpleasant situation by suggestion, Seneca insists upon telling the whole story. In his *Oedipus* he describes with an almost pathological delight the old king's mutilation of his eyes (954 ff.):

> Et flere satis est? Hactenus fundent levem
> Oculi liquorem, sedibus pulsi suis
> Lacrimas sequantur. Hi maritales statim
> Fodiantur oculi. Dixit, atque ira furit.
> Ardent minaces igne truculento genae;
> Oculique vix se sedibus retinent suis.
> Violentus, audax, vultus, iratus, ferox.
> Tantum eruentis. Gemuit, et dirum fremens
> Manus in ora torsit. At contra truces
> Oculi steterunt, et suam intenti manum
> Ultro insequuntur. Vulneri occurrunt suo.
> Scrutatur avidus manibus uncis lumina.
> Radice ab ima funditus vulsos simul
> Evolvit orbes. Haeret in vacuo manus;
> Et fixa penitus unguibus lacerat cavos
> Alte recessus luminum, et inanes sinus;
> Saevitque frustra, plusque, quam sat est, furit . . .
> Rigat ora foedus imber, et lacerum caput
> Largum revulsis sanguinem venis vomit.

Where Seneca's plays may be said to savor of the method of the cinema, Garnier's may be called operatic. Instead of striving after realism in details, Garnier treats the most ordinary incidents in such a way as to bring out all the poetry and music possible. His plays become merely dramatic elegies. It is significant that he omits from his treatment of the story of Oedipus all that could offend the most refined taste, and chooses only the episodes which offer the greatest possibilities for elegiac treatment. The passage just quoted from Seneca's *Oedipus* is characteristically Senecan in theme and tone, and is of the type that he takes greatest delight in developing. The following excerpt from Garnier's *Antigone*

(361 ff.) is as typical of his taste and style, and illustrates his methods of subordinating action, incident, and all else to beautiful discourse:

Antigone. Par vos cheueux grisons ornement de viellesse,
Par cette douce main tremblante de foiblesse,
Et par ces chers genoux que ie tiens embrassez,
Ce mortel pensement ie vous prie effacez
De vostre ame affligée, et laissez cette enuie
De mourir, ou le sort trop cruel vous conuie.
Viuez tant que Nature ici vous souffrira,
Puis receuez la mort quand elle s'offrira:
Elle vient assez tost, et iamais ne ramène
Vne seconde vie en la poitrine humaine.

Edipe. Mà fille, lève toy, tu me transis le coeur,
Ton louable désir sera du mien vainqueur:
Appaise ta douleur, ma chère vie, appaise
La tristesse et l'ennuy que te fait mon malâise.
Ces larmoyans soupirs que tu pousses en l'air
Me trauersent les os et me font affoler.
Ie viuray, ma mignonne, à fin de te complâire,
Et traineray mon corps par ce mont solitaire
Autant que tu voudras, rien ne me peut douloir
Qui se face à ton gré, ie n'ay autre vouloir.

The philosophy of life that we see displayed in the dramas of Garnier is not that of Seneca. The smug, self-satisfied nature, and rather cynical disposition, of Nero's tutor is strangely at variance with the evangelical Christian tone of Garnier's plays. The reader cannot escape noticing a somewhat Pharisaical attitude in Seneca. He condescends to his characters—Hercules, Agamemnon, Medea, and the others; to the gods, and to the reader. The bombastic rhetorician of first-century Rome does not suggest at all the timid, apologetic poet-magistrate of sixteenth-century France. The difference in the temperament of the two is apparent everywhere. Seneca's dramas are cold, dry, rationalistic, impersonal. He writes seemingly without emotion. He has a remarkably detached point of view, and rarely enters into the feelings of his characters. Thebes is nothing to him.

The lamentations of Hecuba and the Trojan women strike no responsive chord in his heart. His plays become intellectual exercises, and at times the framework protrudes in a very inartistic manner.

The subjective character of the work of Garnier and his English school is in striking contrast with this objective and impersonal attitude of Seneca. In the plays of Garnier, Rome and Judæa are identified with France; their troubles merge into those of his own land; their people become his people, and their God his God. All his plays are charged with feeling, so much so as to approach at times the point of sentimentality. He is quite incapable of such mental detachment as that of Seneca. He is as sensitive as a barometer to the changes of political and social atmosphere, and the pressure of his environment.

Perhaps the chief cause of the many differences between the two men and their dramas is the difference between the religions and systems of philosophy under which they were reared. With Seneca it is the Fates, rather than a Supreme Being, who have the administration of the universe, and they seem to be primarily the great thwarters of human plans and purposes. The chorus in Act V of *Oedipus* sings (980 ff.):

> Fatis agimur, cedite fatis.
> Non sollicitae possunt curae
> Mutare rati stamina fusi.
> Quidquid patimur mortale genus,
> Quidquid facimus, venit ex alto:
> Servatque suae decreta colus
> Lachesis, dura revoluta manu.
> Omnia certo tramite vadunt:
> Primusque dies dedit extremum.
> Non illa Deo vertisse licet,
> Quae nexa suis currunt causis.

Again and again the thought is reiterated—nothing is certain, man can do nothing for himself, he must accept what comes. Sentiments to the contrary, it is true, are here and

there expressed by some of his characters, but the atmosphere of the plays as a whole is decidedly fatalistic.

The opposite is true of Garnier's plays. Although some of the unfortunate people in his dramas exclaim against Fate, and lament the cruelty of the decrees of Destiny, the wiser characters constantly remind them that the fault is not with God or the stars, but with themselves. Antony, after senselessly bemoaning his misfortunes, draws himself together and confesses the futility of cursing Fortune for his mishaps (1136 ff.):

> Ce ne fût la Fortune à la face inconstante,
> Ce ne fût du Destin la force violente,
> Qui forgea mon malheur. He! ne sçait-on pas bien
> Que c'est que l'vn et l'autre, et qu'ils ne peuuent rien?
> Fortune que l'on craint, qu'on déteste et adore,
> N'est qu'vn euenement, dont la cause on ignore:
> Encore bien souuent la cause on apperçoit,
> Mais l'effet se découure autre qu'on ne pensoit.

And Cleopatra, if she did not always act in accordance with her better counsels, was at least honest enough not to blame Heaven for her troubles. She says of the gods (470 ff.):

> Ils ne s'abaissent pas aux affaires mondaines,
> Ains laissent aux mortels disposer librement
> De ce qui est mortel dessous le firmament.
> Que si nous commettons en cela quelques fautes,
> Il ne faut nous en prendre à leurs maiestez hautes,
> Mais à nous seulement, qui par nos passions
> Iournellement tombons en mille afflictions.
> Puis quand nous en sentons nos ames espinées,
> Nous flattant disons lors que ce sont destinées,
> Que les Dieux l'ont voulu, et que nostre souci
> Ne pouuoit empescher qu'il n'en aduint ainsi.

Seneca, as has been suggested, has as little feeling and respect for the gods, and as slight a personal interest in them as he has in his characters, whereas Garnier's men and women, pagan though most of them are, share their author's conception of a personal God who is interested in their wel-

fare. The powers that be are, in Garnier's phraseology, 'les bons Dieux,' 'les Dieux débonnaires.' They are not vindictive, and do not, like Seneca's supreme beings, demand eye for eye and tooth for tooth. The nurse in *Hippolyte* reminds Phædra of this fact (629 ff.):

> Iamais nos cruautez ne font les Dieux cruels.
> Si nous sommes meschans, pourtant ils ne sont tels.
> Si nous sommes ingrats a leur bonte supreme,
> Si nous les oublions, ils ne font pas de mesme:
> Ainçois le plus souuent que nous meritons bien
> D'estre punis, c'est lors qu'il nous font plus de bien.

These differences in the attitudes of the two writers toward God and religion bring about a corresponding difference in their views on morality and the conduct of life. With Seneca, the world is bad enough at best, but it must be endured with fortitude so long as possible. If it becomes unbearable, suicide is permissible and even advisable.[9] Garnier also finds the world something of a wilderness of woe, but he would have one submit to the inevitable, and be patient under such afflictions as come. Cleopatra's parting word to her children is significant:

> Apprenez à souffrir, enfans, et oubliez.

Under no circumstances is self-slaughter permissible. When Portia in desperation is contemplating self-slaughter, the nurse attempts to dissuade her. One must not take the matter into one's own hands, says the nurse, but must wait until death comes (517 ff.):

> Mais ce forçant destin ne vous commande pas
> De vous tailler vous mesme vn violent trespas.
> Il faut attendre l'heure ordonnée à la Parque,
> Pour nous faire descendre en l'infernale barque.

And in *Cornélie,* Cicero offers much the same counsel to the distressed wife of Pompey (505 ff.):

[9] Seneca's general view of suicide as a privilege under certain circumstances may be found in *De Providentia,* chap. 6, and *Epistles* 1. 12. 10.

La mort vient assez tost, nostre iour limité
Ne doit, quoy qu'il ennuye, estre precipité . . . .
C'est par timidité que soymesme on se tue,
Ayant contre vn malheur l'âme trop abbatue . . . .
Ma fille, gardez-vous d'irriter le grand Dieu,
Qui met dans nostre corps comme dans vn fortlieu,
Nostre âme pour sa garde, ainsi qu'vn sage Prince
Met garnison es forts qui bornent sa prouince . . . .
Il ne faut pas aussi que ceste place on rende,
Qu'on sorte de ce corps, si Dieu ne le commande.

A striking example of their differences in the treatment of the same incident and theme is to be found in Seneca's *Troades* and *Garnier's La Troade*. The chorus of Trojan women raises the question of the immortality of the soul, and then proceeds to answer it. The answer that Seneca's chorus gives is to the effect that the soul dies with the body, passing away like dirty smoke, or like the vapor in the air (395 ff.):

Ut calidis fumus ab ignibus,
Vanescit spatium per breve sordidus;
Ut nubes gravidas, quas modo vidimus,
Arctoi Boreae disjicit impetus;
Sic hic, quo regimur, spiritus effluet.
Post mortem nihil est, ipsaque mors nihil,
Velocis spatii meta novissima.
Spem ponant avidi; solliciti metum.

Stories about immortality are but foolish old wives' tales (410-11):

Rumores vacui, verbaque inania,
Et par sollicito fabula somnio.

In Garnier's drama the chorus asks similarly whether the soul perishes with the body, and then comes the answer (1341 ff.), wholly unlike Seneca's in thought, treatment, and form, and very much in the lyrical style of the Euripidean chorus:

Non: mais comme d'vn bois gommeux
Sort en flambant vn air fumeux,
Qui haut se guide,

Et vole bien auant es cieux
Se pert, esloigné de nos yeux,
Dédans le vuide:

Ainsi de nostre corps mourant
La belle âme se retirant,
Au ciel remonte,
Inuisible aux humains regards,
Et la, franche des mortels dards,
La Parque domte.

Elle séiourne auec les Dieux
En vn repos délicieux,
Toute diuine:
Se bien-heurant d'auoir quitté
La terre, pour le ciel vouté,
Son origine . . . .

La de ce lourd fardeau bien tost,
Qui mon âme en tristesse enclost
Du tout déliure,
Puissé-ie au saint palais des Dieux,
Franché de ces maux ennuyeux
A iamais viure.

It is not necessary to insist that these two passages represent respectively the exact views of the two dramatists on the question of immortality, but they do show, what any number of other passages from their works would also attest, that in any given case where the same or similar subjects are treated, the manner and attitude of the two writers are distinctively different. If it is a case in which philosophy or religion or morality is concerned, Garnier's treatment always discloses his Christian views, as against the pagan attitude of the Latin dramatist.

In this connection may be mentioned Seneca's frequent use of irony and sarcasm, of which Garnier never avails himself. Andromache, in Seneca's *Troades,* urges in a bitterly sarcastic tone the celebration of the nuptials of Pyrrhus and Polyxena, with the light of burning Troy for nuptial torches (893 ff.):

O conjugale tempus, an quisquam audeat
Negare? quisquam dubius ad thalamos eat,
Quos Helena suadet? . . . . . .
Perge, thalamos appara.
Taedis quid opus est? quidve solenni face?
Quid igne? thalamis Troja praelucet novis.
Celebrate Pyrrhi, Troades, connubia;
Celebrate digne. Planctus et gemitus sonent.

Garnier's Andromache is too full of grief for such an outburst.

The women of Garnier's tragedies are, on the whole, of a different type from Seneca's women, and those of the ancients generally. His attitude toward women, as toward so many other matters, is characteristically different from that of the Roman playwright. Seneca's women can hardly be called either feminine or masculine. They have in a manner been unsexed. Neither his men nor his women have any normal feelings or emotions. They are all carried away by their passions, particularly their intense hatreds and their rage for vengeance. Garnier's women are distinctively feminine, although they do not represent the type of women that was characteristic of the Middle Ages or of ancient times. His women are quite modern in many respects. They assume equal rights with men in love and war and in the general conduct of affairs. Portia and Cornelia and Antigone take a lively interest in the affairs of the day—political, military, governmental. They denounce tyrants, encourage statesmen, recall deeds of valor to faint-hearted men, and prefer death to life without freedom. Portia, after the death of Cæsar and the rise of the triumvirate, analyzes the political situation with the clarity of any statesman (569 ff.):

Nous tuasmes César pour n'auoir point de Rois,
Mais au meurtre de luy nous en auons faict trois:
Et crains que si ceux-la sont desfaits par les nostres
Qu'en beaucoup plus grand nombre il en renaisse d'autres.

When Antigone has been imprisoned for her violation of Creon's decree in regard to the burying of her brother,

instead of submitting tamely, she defies Creon, and exhibits more fortitude than either of her brothers ever did. The young amazon Bradamante needs no special comment as to her independence. One is reminded of the feminist sentiment of modern literature more than once in the plays of Garnier. It is noteworthy that all his plays except *Hippolyte* and *Marc Antoine* are named after women, and the latter of these two might with more justification have been called *Cléopatre.*

In this general survey of the works of Seneca and Garnier, many of their characteristic differences have come to light. By comparing two of their plays in a somewhat more detailed manner, we shall be able to see still more of their distinguishing traits. Garnier's *Hippolyte* is, of all his dramas, the one which follows most closely the plot of a Senecan play, and we shall compare it in some important respects with its Latin prototype, *Hippolytus.* If the play in which he departs least from his Latin model shows such substantial variations, the difference in treatment between such plays as *Les Juifves, La Troade,* and *Antigone,* on the one hand, and those of Seneca on the other, may well be assumed.

It is in its form and arrangement that *Hippolyte* has most in common with the Senecan type of drama. It begins with a prologue by the ghost of Aegeus, which may have been inspired by the prologue of Aphrodite in the *Hippolytos* of Euripides, although its subject-matter is entirely different. The ghost in *Hippolyte* is thoroughly Senecan in its external trappings, but its appearance has nothing to do with revenge, the usual mission of the Senecan ghost. With the exception of the first act, the play as a whole follows extremely closely the plot and arrangement of Seneca's *Hippolytus.* The differences between the two plays are largely differences of detail and interpretation. Where Seneca delights in giving long accounts of concrete incidents, as in the hunting-song of Hippolytus, and the first monologue of Phædra in the

same play, Garnier prefers to sum up such concrete matters very briefly, and to devote his energy to lyrical expression. He also cuts down the long monologues of Seneca's play and changes them into dialogue. The monologue of Hippolytus in Act II serves, for example, for a general conversation between the hero and the nurse in Garnier's play. Seneca's high-sounding epithets are very often changed into simpler expressions. For the ceremonious term, 'divum rector atque hominum,' which Hippolytus commonly uses in addressing Jupiter, Garnier's Hippolyte substitutes the simpler and more personal expression, 'O père.'

It is the choruses in *Hippolyte,* as in all Garnier's plays, which show most readily the differences between the style of the two writers. Garnier's choruses are always marked by a lyrical manner of expression which Seneca does not approach; and they are never cluttered with the mass of circumstantial details which are so characteristic of the Senecan chorus. A pedantic and rather prosaic cast is given to many parts of Seneca's drama by his habit of putting in every circumstance that relates to the subject of which he is writing, and prefixing to the names of his gods and important personages all the titles and epithets available. He can never resist the temptation to air all his knowledge about the topic under discussion. In the hunting-song with which his *Hippolytus* opens, he must show his complete acquaintance with the huntsman's art by mentioning all the details. When he speaks of the hounds (30 ff.), he must tell all he knows about the different breeds and their qualities—

> At vos laxas
> Canibus tacitis mittite habenas:
> Teneant acres lora Molossos.
> Et pugnaces tendant Cressae
> Fortia trito vincula collo.
> At Spartanos (genus est audax
> Avidumque ferae) nodo cautus
> Propiore liga. Veniet tempus
> Cum latratu cava saxa sonent:

Nunc demissi nare sagaci
Captent auras, lustraque presso
Quaerant rostro.

He must also give the impression of knowing all about the game, so he describes the oxen, the stags, the deer, the tigers, and all the other animals that his huntsmen run upon. Even the creaking wagon (*plaustro gementi*) on which the spoil is borne away, comes in for mention.

Garnier's method is much more like that of Euripides. He adopts the Greek fashion of suggesting ideas, rather than overloading his page with concrete details. His hunting-chorus does not keep to the earth at all. It expresses the abstract joy of hunting, and the happiness of a life spent in the forests. Where Seneca gives a line or two to the goddess of the chase, and a score of lines to animals, Garnier merely mentions the animals, and gives a third of his chorus to lyrical exaltation of Diana (285 ff.):

Déesse fille de Latone,
De Dele le bon-heur iumeau,
Qui t'accompagnes d'vn troupeau,
Que la Chastété n'abandonne;
Si les monts herissez de bois,
Si le sein touffu d'vne taille.
Si les rocs à la dure escaille,
Te vont agréant quelque fois,
Quand du front passant tes pucelles
L'arc et la trousse sur le dos,
La trompe creuse à tes esselles,
Tu vas chassant d'vn pied dispos.

O montagneuse, ô bocagère,
Aime-fontêines, porte-rêts,
Guide nos pas en tes forests,
Apres quelque biche legère.
Que si fauoriser te chaut
Nostre chasseresse entreprise,
Nous t'appendrons de nostre prise
La despouille en vn chesne haut:

Et de fleurs les temples couuertes
Sous l'arbre trois fois entouré,
Les mains pleines de branches vertes
Chanterons ton nom adoré.

If Garnier finds an idea in Seneca which is capable of poetic elaboration, he expands it as much as possible. In the midst of Seneca's description of the hunt, the writer refers to the twilight as the time 'dum lux dubia est.' Garnier takes up the suggestion and describes the twilight (163 ff.) as the period of the day when

il fait au soir, après que le soleil
A retire de nous son visage vermeil,
Et qu'il reiaisse encore vne lueur qui semble
Estre ny iour ny nuict, mais tous les deux ensemble.

Space will not permit further illustrations of the different manners of the two dramatists, nor of the influence which Euripides and other Greek authors exercised on Garnier. Kastner (p. xxxviii) and others have taken Garnier's contemporaries to task for hailing him as being 'Greek,' and ignoring his debt to Seneca. Doubtless too much stress was placed by the sixteenth century on the Hellenic strain in his works, but it is just as certain that present-day critics proclaim far too vociferously his indebtedness to Seneca, and leave out of consideration almost entirely the influence of Plutarch in the matter of plot and tone and subject-matter, and the inspiration which the lyrical choruses of Euripides offered in the fashioning of Garnier's choruses.

The portrayal of character in *Hippolyte* is as unlike the method followed in Seneca's play as Garnier's style is unlike Seneca's. It could hardly be expected that two writers so unlike as Seneca and Garnier should interpret the thoughts and actions of any given person in the same way. Except for the traditional characteristics of Hippolytus, Phædra, and the other persons in Garnier's drama, they are to all intents and purposes quite different people from their counterparts in the *Hippolytus* of Seneca. The argument which Garnier

prefixes to his drama announces a theme entirely different in character from that outlined in Seneca's argument. The Latin dramatist, as has been observed, has little feeling for his characters, and seemingly no personal interest in them. He dismisses Hippolytus in his introductory remarks with the curt phrase, 'Hippolyti, Thesei ex Antiope Amazone filii, Dianam virginem ac venatricem colentis.' Compare with this the sympathetic manner in which Garnier introduces his hero, referring to him as "Hippolyte . . . ce ieune seigneur . . . comme vertueux qu'il estoit, nourri chastement au laborieux plaisir de la chasse, loin de la mollesse et lasciveté des villes.' This tender, personal feeling for the young man is continued throughout the play.

The main outlines of the character of Hippolytus were taken, of course, by both Seneca and Garnier from Euripides, and the character had become so conventionalized that neither of them was able to modify it except in details. The Hippolytos of Euripides' tragedy is marked by a self-righteous pride and haughtiness—the ὕβρις of the hero of Greek tragedy—savoring of Pharisaism, and somewhat distasteful to the modern mind, which dislikes above everything the 'holier-than-thou' attitude in a man. It is interesting to see just how Seneca and Garnier, given the same conventional figure from Greek tragedy, develop it, and how characteristic of each of them is his treatment of the young hero.

Seneca's Hippolytus is thoroughly masculine, without any of the qualities that are associated with femininity. He is presented objectively as a vigorous huntsman, interested only in his hunting companions and his dogs, and the rough pleasures of the chase. He is thoroughly mature, knows what he likes, and is entirely capable of taking care of himself. He is declamatory, forensic, wholly unsympathetic, and incapable of understanding those who differ with him. Seneca has made his hero even more distasteful to the modern mind than his Euripidean prototype. Garnier, on the other hand, has softened and modified the austerities of

the Greek hero. His Hippolyte combines the qualities of both youth and maiden, and all his words and actions emphasize this double nature. Seneca puts into the mouth of his hero a figure of speech about a rapacious wolf and a deer (572-3):

> Et ora damis blanda praebebunt lupi
> Quam victus animum feminae mitem geram,

for which Garnier substitutes in the case of his Hippolyte a statement about eagles and pigeons (1285-6):

> Et plutost sera l'Aigle aux Pigeons sociable,
> Que ie serue vne femme, esclaue misérable.

Hippolyte is a cross between Joseph and Galahad. His characteristic trait is childlike innocence, and an orthodox fear of incurring mortal sin. Seneca's Hippolytus despises women, and knows why he despises them, and gets great pleasure out of his misogyny. He exclaims (566 ff.):

> Detestor omnes, horreo, fugio, exsecror.
> Sit ratia, sit natura, sit dirus furor:
> Odisse placuit. . . .
> Solamen unum matris amissae fero,
> Odisse quod jam feminas omnes licet.

It is not that Garnier's Hippolyte hates women so much as that he has never learned to love them. He doesn't understand the reason for it himself (1263 ff.):

> Ie ne sçaurois aimer vostre sexe odieux,
> Ie ne puis m'y contraindre, il est trop vicieux . . . .
> Ie ne sçay pourquoy c'est, toutes ie les déteste,
> Ie les ay en horreur plus que ie n'ay la peste.

His attitude has nothing Greek or Roman about it, but is quite mediæval. Women are a snare and a delusion, and one is safe only when one gives oneself to the life of an ascetic, far from the voluptuous environment of the city (1289-90):

> Ie n'ay pas peur qu'Amour corrompe mon courage
> Fuyant la volupté, le poison de nostre age.

At the close of the scene between Phædra and Hippolytus, Seneca's hero in a rage seizes his stepmother by her hair and bends back her head fiercely, intending to cut her throat. When he finds that she wishes to die, he will not do her the favor of killing her, but thrusts her from him, with the exclamation (704 ff.):

> Procul impudicos corpore a casto amove
> Tactus. Quid hoc est? etiam in amplexus ruit?
> Stringatur ensis. Merita supplicia exigat.
> En, impudicum crine contorto caput
> Laeva reflexi. Justior nunquam focis
> Datus tuis est sanguis, arcitenens Dea.

In the parallel scene in Garnier's play, Hippolyte is much too shocked for anything so vigorous and dramatic as this. He replies much more simply (1475 ff.):

> Retirez-vous de moy, ne me venez toucher,
> Ne me touchez le corps, de peur de me tacher.
> Comment? Elle m'embrasse? Il faut que mon espée,
> Vengeant si grand forfaict, soit de son sang trempée.
> Iamais, chaste Diane, à ton nom immortel
> Vn sang mieux consacré n'humecta ton autel.

He flees from Phædra and meets his death through the agency of Neptune's sea-monster. The nurse, lamenting his fate, characterizes him as a 'pauure ieune homme . . . comme le simple agneau qu'on meine au sacrifice.'

The differences between the Phædra of Seneca and the heroine of Garnier's play are also characteristic. Seneca's Phædra is a scold in domestic life, and toward the world in general her attitude is cynical and disillusioned. She is more rationalistic and shrewd than Garnier's Phædra. Her emotions never get such complete control over her as is the case with the French heroine. She is careful above all of her reputation, and if necessary she will kill herself to keep it immaculate, however spotted she herself may be. The French poet's Phædra is a much more womanly type, and the dramatist manages to create in the mind of the reader a sympathy and pity for her which one can hardly feel for

Seneca's heroine. Her apostrophe to Hippolyte (1007 ff.) is characteristic:

> Hippolyte mon coeur, n'aurez-vous point pitié
> De me voir trespasser serue en vostre amitié? . . .
> Ah Phèdre! ah pauure Phèdre! ou as tu mis ton coeur?
> Tu ne dois esperer le tirer de langueur.
> Tu brusles follement en vne beauté digne
> Non pas de ton amour, mais d'vne amour diuine. . . .
> O mon bel Hippolyte, et ne voyez-vous pas
> Que pour vous trop aimer i'approche du trespas? . . . .
> Secourez-moy, ma vie, et ne changes à tort,
> Par faute de pitié, mon amour à la mort.

The views of Garnier's Phædra on matters of life and death are noticeably affected by those of the poet himself. Seneca's heroine, as Tivier suggests,[10] flees to death as a last resort and a friendly and inviolable asylum (1188 ff.):

> O mors amoris una sedamen mali
> O mors pudoris maximum laesi decus
> Confugimus ad te: pande placatos sinus.

Garnier's Phædra realizes that suicide would be only the beginning of new torments. As she contemplates what is likely to happen to her after death by suicide, she exclaims (1657 ff.):

> Mon coeur, que trembles-tu? quelle soudaine horreur,
> Quelle horreur frissonant allentist ta fureur?
> Quelle affreuse Megère à mes yeux se presente?
> Quelle serpens encordez, quelle torche flambante?
> Quelle riue escumeuse, et quel fleuue grondant,
> Quelle rouge fournaise horriblement ardant?
> Ha ce sont les Enfers, ce les sont, ils m'attendent,
> Et pour me receuoir leurs cauernes ils fendent.

The nurse in Seneca's play is a coarse, worldly old woman, who advises her mistress, in a practical way, to conquer her illicit passion for Hippolytus. When this advice fails, she sets about to obtain the young man for Phædra. Once again she is unsuccessful, and then, fearing that the plans of her

[10] *Histoire de la Littérature Dramatique en France,* p. 543.

and her mistress with regard to Hippolytus will become known, she alarms the citizens with the report that Phædra has been assaulted by Hippolytus. Upon the return of Theseus, she informs him of the indisposition of his wife, and then disappears from the scene.

Garnier's characterization of the nurse differs both from that of Seneca and from that accorded her in Euripides. In the Greek play, Phædra, angry because the nurse's disclosure of her love to Hippolytos has driven him from the palace, dismisses her at once, and she appears no more in the play. Garnier, although forced to keep the traditional outlines of the nurse's character, alters it noticeably. She is raised from the rank of coarse serving-woman to the level of a confidante, almost to that of a foster-mother. She is still sufficiently sophisticated, but with a difference. When Phædra is meditating suicide, it is the nurse who tries to dissuade her from it, with arguments that are essentially Christian. She corrects with firmness her mistress's conception of God and Fate. She will not allow her to place the cause of her infatuation with Hippolyte on the shoulders of the gods:

> Vn Dieu n'est point autheur d'vn si vilain inceste.

It is only as a last resort, and against her better principles, the she goes to solicit Hippolyte's love for her mistress. Once entangled in the affair, however, she finds it difficult to disengage herself, and is the first to suggest that the false accusation of assault be put upon Hippolyte to protect her mistress. Garnier alone of the three dramatists introduces the repentance and remorse of the nurse upon hearing of the young man's tragic death. It is in keeping with the personal interest with which he always invests his characters.

Even the most unimportant characters, and those who come in for the merest mention in the play, are accorded a sympathetic touch by Garnier. A shadowy figure like Pirithous becomes, in Garnier's terms, the 'singulier amy' of

Theseus, and the latter's journey to the infernal regions is explained as being due to his inability to refuse the request of Pirithous, 'vn amy si cher.'

Finally, the two plays are concluded in the most characteristic manner of their respective authors. The Phædra of Seneca's tragedy takes her farewell (1196 ff.) of the dead Hippolytus in the following manner:

> Recipe jam mores tuos;
> Mucrone pectus impium justo patet,
> Cruorque sancto solvit inferias viro.

Garnier elaborates this into a long emotional monologue full of lyrical passages, and it is a chastened and repentant Phædra that seeks forgiveness of the dead boy (2209 ff.):

> Or receuez mes pleurs, et n'allez reboutant
> La chaste affection de mon coeur repentant. . . .
> Belle âme, si encore vous habitez ce corps,
> Et que tout sentiment n'ayez tiré déhors,
> S'il y demeure encor de vous quelque partie,
> Si vous n'estes encor de luy toute partie,
> Ie vous prie, ombre sainte, auec genous pliez,
> Les bras croisez sur vous, mes fautes oubliez.
> Ie n'ay point de regret de ce que ie trespasse,
> Mais dequoy trespassant ie n'ay pas vostre grâce. . . .
> Oyez-moy hardiment, ie veux vous requérir
> Pardon de mon mesfait, deuant que de mourir.

At the conclusion of his play, Seneca outdoes himself in a riot of gruesome details. The chorus announces the theme by suggesting that the scattered remains of Hippolytus be gathered together. Theseus, crazed by grief, asks for the different parts of his son's mangled body, giving an inventory of the whole. The play ends with his giving directions that the body of Phædra be thrown into a hole and covered with dirt, and a prayer that the soil may rest heavily upon her.

The incidents and atmosphere of the last scene of Garnier's *Hippolyte* are just as characteristic of his manner. All of Seneca's harrowing details are omitted. He shows us a Theseus, who, though desperate in his grief over the

death of his innocent son, is thoroughly repentant and resolved to do penance for his rashness. Instead of a madman chattering incoherently over the bloody pieces of his son's body, Garnier presents a father who, through his grief, has a vision of his son in the Elysian fields, and it is of the apotheosized Hippolytus, and not of the mangled remains on the ground, that he takes his farewell (2379 ff.):

> Or adieu mon enfant, que bien tost puisses-tu
> Voir les champs Elysez, loyer de ta vertu.
> Que puisses-tu bien tost dédans l'onde oublieuse
> Ensévelir mon crime, et ta mort outrageuse.
> Adieu mon fils adieu, ie m'en vay langoureux
> Consommer quelque part mon age malheureux.

The foregoing study has attempted to make clear some of the many differences between the mind and the manner of Seneca and of Garnier. The list of differences could be greatly extended, but only to corroborate what the previous illustrations have made apparent—that in treatment of subject, arrangement of plot, and the atmosphere with which they invest their plays, their attitude, style, manner, and spirit are wholly unlike. The ἦθος of Garnier's drama is Greek rather than Senecan, and still more characteristically Christian and French than either Greek or Senecan. In its seriousness of purpose, and its efforts to inculcate patriotism and morality, it has much more in common with the mediæval spirit than the ancient. There are those plays of Garnier which have almost nothing in common with the Roman tragedian, but even in such a play as *Hippolyte,* where he has followed him most closely, if the hands are the hands of Seneca, the voice is the voice of Garnier.

CHAPTER III.

The Basis of Garnier's Appeal to Lady Pembroke and Her Circle.

In the two preceding chapters we have discussed the nature of Garnier's work, and its relation and indebtedness to that of Seneca and others, in order that we might clear the ground for a consideration of the influence which Garnier in his turn exercised upon English writers. It has been shown that Garnier chose the Senecan type of drama, largely because it was the only model available in his time; and that, although forced to adopt the Senecan form, he infused into it an entirely different conception of tragedy, treating the material which he had borrowed in a spirit quite foreign to that of the Latin tragedian. The Countess of Pembroke was not so limited as Garnier in her choice of a type of tragedy which should serve as a pattern for the group of writers which had gathered about her in England, and we shall now consider the reasons which helped to determine her choice of the tragedies of Garnier, out of all those which were available.

As early as 1580 a movement looking toward the reform of English verse and letters was taking place. Our knowledge of this movement, and the activities of those behind it, is somewhat fragmentary, being derived in part from the letters exchanged between Gabriel Harvey and Edmund Spenser in 1579-80.[1] Spenser, in a letter written October 15, 1579, mentions a kind of society, or senate, referred to as the ἀρειωπάγος in which 'two worthy gentlemen Master Sidney and Master Dyer' have proclaimed 'a general surceasing and silence of balde Rymers,' and have, 'by authoritie of their whole Senate, prescribed certaine Lawes and rules of Quantities of English sillables for English verse, having

[1] Cf. Harvey, *Works*, ed. Grosart, I. 7; Harvey, *Letter Book*, ed. Scott (Camden Society).

had thereof already great practise, and drawen mee to their faction.' Other letters have similar references, as, for example, Harvey's answer to this letter of Spenser's, dated October 23, 1579.

The vague allusions to this circle of literary friends in these letters have proved unduly stimulating to the imaginations of many literary historians. The rather shadowy and informal group mentioned by Spenser has assumed a local habitation and a name, and, as the 'Areopagus,' it is discussed at length and with greater assurance than is warranted by our information concerning it. It has been compared with the French Pleiade[2] with respect to its nature and purpose, and is discussed as a matter-of-fact, formally-organized body, which felt called upon 'to formulate for England a general system of critical theory, and try the farthest literary possibilities of their vernacular.'[3]

Although the ambitions and the work of the Areopagus have probably been painted in somewhat too glowing colors, there is no doubt that, whatever its exact nature and however extensive the scope of its activities, there was a spirit of literary reform in the air, particularly with reference to tragedy. During the next two decades the movement grew in force. By 1583 Sidney had written his *Defense of Poesy,* in which he examines the state of English poetry, and points out what he considers the chief defects of English drama—its disregard of the unities, its mingling of tragedy and comedy, and its permitting broad farce to take the place of comedy. *Gorboduc* he praises with reservations, and finds that 'the tragedies of Buchanan do justly bring forth a divine admiration.'[4] But he can find no other

[2] Cf. Fletcher, 'Areopagus and Pleiade,' *Jour. Ger. Phil.* 2. 428 ff.

[3] Cf. Upham, *French Influence in English Literature,* pp. 25 ff. Maynadier, in an article, 'The Areopagus of Sidney and Spenser,' *Mod. Lang. Rev.* 4. 549 ff. takes an agnostic view of the Areopagus as a sort of English Pleiade.

[4] *Defense of Poesy,* ed. Cook, p. 52.

tragedies worthy of mention. Similar sentiments in regard to the observance of the unities, and the same general conception of the classical ideal in tragedy, had appeared some twenty years earlier in Roger Ascham's *Scholemaster,* which was written about 1563, but not published until 1570:[5]

When Mr. Watson, in St. John's College at Cambridge, wrote his excellent tragedy of Absalon, Mr. Cheke, he, and I, for that part of true Imitation, had many pleasant talks together, in comparing the precepts of Aristotle, and Horace *de Arte Poetica* with the examples of Euripides, Sophocles, and Seneca. Few men, in writing of tragedies in our days, have shot at this mark. Some in England, more in France, Germany and Italy also, have written tragedies in our time: of the which, not one, I am sure, is able to abide the true touch of Aristotle's precepts and Euripides's examples, save only two, that ever I saw, Mr. Watson's Absalon, and Georgius Buchananus's Jephthe.

George Whetstone, in 1578, brought indictments against the contemporary drama on much the same grounds, in his short discourse prefixed to *Promos and Cassandra.* But the romantic drama with all its imperfections went on its way, unchecked by the deprecations of Sidney or Ascham or Whetstone.

Sidney died in 1586, and his sister Mary, the Countess of Pembroke, took upon herself the task of literary executrix for her brother. She undertook to finish the translations which they had begun together, to re-edit the first edition of the *Arcadia,* and to carry out other enterprises which they had planned. He had pointed out defects in the tragedies of the day, and had vouchsafed some counsels of perfection. She would go farther, and by example, as well as by precept, undertake that reformation of English tragedy which her brother had so desired. She now became the centre and patroness of the group which included her brother's friends, Edward Dyer, Edmund Spenser, Fulke Greville, and others, together with some younger poets of her own choosing, among whom were Samuel Daniel and Abraham

[5] Ascham, *Works,* ed. Giles, 3. 240.

Fraunce. This circle of Lady Pembroke became one of the most interesting coteries in the history of English literature. It is not necessary here to dwell on the personal merits of her whom the world has for three hundred years honored as 'Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother,' and whom the fortune of the time made, in Daniel's phrase,[6] 'the happie and iudiciall Patronesse of the Muses.' We are concerned here only with a consideration of the motives underlying her introduction of Garnier's dramas into England, in her efforts to check the popularity of the romantic tragedy.

It is significant, in the first place, that the leader of the movement against the popular drama was a woman. It was an age of female ascendancy. The first part of the sixteenth century had been sufficiently masculine, with such characters as Henry VII and Henry VIII on the throne in England, and Francis I and Charles V in control of affairs on the Continent. The vices and virtues of the first half of the century had been alike of a masculine cast. Licentiousness and arrogance, extreme coarseness in speech and conduct, frank and open lust—these had been the keynotes of the life of the time. But toward the middle of the century there was a noticeable change from all this. Women began to assume the governing power. The peace of Cambrai in 1529, it will be remembered, was negotiated by two women, Louise de Savoie, mother of Francis I, and Margaret of Austria, aunt of Charles V, and was therefore termed *la paix des dames*. Mary and Elizabeth in England, and Marie de France, Mary Stuart, and Catherine de' Medici on the Continent, brought in an atmosphere entirely different from that which had prevailed in the earlier part of the century. The vices and virtues of the day were no longer of the sterner sort. It became an age of poison and innuendo. Where those in power during the early years of the century had been, for the most part, open and aboveboard in their doings,

[6] Dedication of *Delia*, 1592.

those who now ruled were sly and insidious. Government was conducted largely by ruses and wiles, and important diplomatic victories were gained by female machinations, and the grace of ladies' favors. There was probably never an age in which women held a greater sway physically and intellectually than during this period. It was a time when, to an unusual extent, institutions and movements were the lengthened shadows of individuals, and the individuals were now in very many cases women. In England, Elizabeth was the incarnation of the national ideals of the time; and other women, like Lady Pembroke, were incarnations of ideals in literary and other spheres. It has been suggested[7] that the influence of the doctrine of Platonic love, and the general interest in Platonism at this time, may have helped in establishing the preponderating influence of women in so many spheres of activity, particularly in the world of letters. But whatever the causes of this feminine hegemony, the results speak for themselves.

It was an age of bluestockings. It was the fashion for ladies of quality to be versed in the Greek and Latin authors, and to be actively interested in literary affairs. The queen herself translated a chorus from the *Hercules Oetaeus* of Seneca,[8] and the erudition of Lady Jane Grey is a commonplace of history. Outside the royal household, a host of noblewomen had become the patrons and the subjects of literature. Thomas Nash in 1593 dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Carey his *Christ's Tears Over Jerusalem,* and in the next year he dedicated to Lady Carey's daughter, Elizabeth, his *Terrors of the Night.* To the elder Lady Carey, also, Spenser in 1590 addressed his *Muiopotmos,* and a sonnet prefixed to the *Faerie Queene* is inscribed to her. The

[7] Cf. Girardin, *Cours de Littérature Dramatique* 3. 2 ff.; Lefranc, 'Le Platonisme et le Littérature en France,' in *Rev. d'Hist. Litt. de la France,* 1896, pp. 1 ff.

[8] Cf. *Anglia* 14. 346 ff. For an account of Elizabeth's non-dramatic translations, cf. *E. E. T. S.,* Vol. 113.

younger Elizabeth Carey (or Carew) was herself the author of a play, *The Tragedy of Mariam,* printed in 1613, which we shall have occasion to study later in this work. The *Faerie Queene* was naturally dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. To his cousin, Lady Strange, the author of the *Faerie Queene* dedicated his *Teares of the Muses,* in 1591, and to the most famous of all the literary patronesses of the age, the Countess of Pembroke, he addressed the *Ruines of Time,* in the same year. To Lady Pembroke, also, Samuel Daniel dedicated in succession his *Delia,* 1592; his *Cleopatra,* 1594; and the 1609 edition of his *Civil Warres.* The *Amintae Gaudia* of Thomas Watson, 1592, and no less than five works of Nicholas Breton, were also addressed to the same lady; and similar homage was paid by Abraham Fraunce, two of his works containing her name in the title, *The Countess of Pembroke's Emanuell,* and *The Countess of Pembroke's Ivychurch.* In 1592 Robert Greene dedicated to Lady Bridget Fitzwalter his *Philomela,* and two years later Thomas Kyd addressed to the same lady, who had by that time become Countess of Sussex,[9] his translation of Garnier's *Cornélie,* which was inspired by Lady Pembroke's translation of the same poet's *Antoine.* Samuel Brandon, a member of Lady Pembroke's coterie, dedicated to Lady Lucia Audlay in 1598 his *Tragecomoedi of the Vertuous Octavia.*

Some idea may be gained from such facts as the foregoing of the manner in which the ladies of the day were catered to by the writers, and in turn took up the pen themselves. The list of such dedications could be easily extended, but

[9] Luce (p. 47) and Upham (p. 81) are in error in thinking that the Countess of Sussex, to whom Kyd and Greene dedicated their works, was the aunt of Lady Pembroke. Lady Frances Sidney, the aunt of Lady Pembroke, was, instead, the wife of the third Earl of Sussex, Thomas Radcliffe, and died in 1588-9. The patroness of Greene and Kyd was Lady Bridget Fitzwalter, daughter of Sir Charles Morison, and wife of Robert Radcliffe, the fifth Earl of Sussex, who succeeded his father in December, 1593.

these will serve to indicate some of the acknowledgments of women's position in the world of letters of the time. *Euphues,* as is well known, was written expressly to please the court ladies, and to show the gentlemen how to conduct themselves in their presence. It was in a manner the book of etiquette of the time, and its themes, which pertain to love rather than to war, testify to the ascendancy of feminine influence at the time of its composition.

It was under such conditions, then, that the Countess of Pembroke took up what she conceived to be the unfulfilled purpose of her brother, the reformation of English tragedy. And not least among the virtues which she doubtless saw in Garnier's plays, and which led her to choose them as patterns for imitation in England, were those feminine qualities of refinement and elegance to which some reference has already been made. The tragedies as well as the comedies of the popular stage were of masculine inception and for masculine consumption, strong meat for strong stomachs. Garnier's dramas, on the other hand, were such as would appeal to ladies and the more refined gentlemen of the day. They were largely named after women, and concerned with women; and they exhibited such meticulous attention to the niceties of language and expression, and such careful regard for the classical traditions and stage decencies as to suggest a feminine hand in their composition. Once again, it is noteworthy that whereas the dramas of Seneca had influenced the blood-and-thunder playwrights of England, and had made their chief appeal to the groundlings in the pit, the plays of Garnier appealed to the tastes of the bluestockings, and became a criterion of elegance in dramatic composition. No better testimony to the essential difference between the characters of the dramas of the two writers could be asked. It was Seneca's lurid sensationalism which accounted for the Senecan vogue in England, and it was Garnier's careful excision of all such qualities from his tragedies that won for them

their commanding influence over the refined and cultured circle of Lady Pembroke.

Before discussing the immediate causes of Garnier's influence over these literary exquisites in England, we shall do well to see just what it was that Lady Pembroke protested against in the popular plays of the day, and what was the nature of the popular tragedy. Prominent among the tragedies that had followed in the wake of *Gorboduc,* was the *Jocasta* of Gascoigne and Kinwelmersh, translated into English from the Italian play, *Giocasta,* of Ludovico Dolce, and played at Gray's Inn in 1566. There was also *Gismond of Salerne in Love,* a product of the Inner Temple, acted before Queen Elizabeth in 1568. It was refurbished, with added horrors, some twenty-three years later, by Robert Wilmot, one of the original authors, and published as *The Tragedy of Tancred and Gismund,* in 1591. In 1587, *The Misfortunes of Arthur,* another work emanating from Gray's Inn, was played before the Queen at Greenwich. In all these plays the unities are disregarded, but in other respects they conform very largely to the Senecan rules of tragedy.

In addition to these purely courtly tragedies, there is a long list of productions of a more popular type; among them, *The Tragicall Comedie of Apius and Virginia,* about 1563; Edwards's *Damon and Pythias,* 1563; *King Darius,* 1565; *The Commodye of Pacient and Meeke Grissill,* by John Phillip, dating probably from the same year; Pikering's *Horestes,* 1567-8; and Thomas Preston's *Lamentable Tragedy mixed full of Pleasant Mirth, conteyning the Life of Cambises King of Percia,* 1569-70. In 1587, the year of the production of the *Misfortunes of Arthur,* two of the most important of all Elizabethan dramas, Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and Kyd's *Spanish Tragedie,* were produced. The appearance of *Locrine* was also probably coincident with that of these three plays. The dramas named above are thoroughly typical of the tragedies and tragi-comedies of the

time, and a survey of their most salient characteristics will disclose the chief grounds of Lady Pembroke and her circle's objection to them.[10]

To begin with, these tragedies were lacking in the matter of elegance and correctness, two prime requisites in the opinion of the fastidious sister of Sir Philip Sidney, and the other bluestockings who were interested in reforming English tragedy. *Gismond of Salerne,* for example, exhibits a good deal of violence on the stage, and contains a revolting scene, in which Gismond fondles the heart of the slain Guiscardo. In *Cambises,* Sisamnes is flayed alive, and Smirdis undergoes a bloody murder—a 'false skin' and 'a little bladder of vinegar' being provided, according to the stage-directions, in order to make the incidents more realistic. In *Apius and Virginia,* the head of the heroine is struck from her body, and carried to Appius. It is not surprising that such bloody incidents, the sensational themes of sexual love and allied topics, and the general atmosphere of these romantic dramas, offended the delicate sensibilities of the members of the coterie.

Again, one of the complaints registered in Sidney's *Defense* against the tragedy of the day was that the writers of plays had no appreciation of the difference between tragedy and comedy[11]—' all their plays be neither right tragedies nor right comedies, mingling kings and clowns, not because the matter so carrieth it, but thrust in by head and shoulders to play a part in majestical matters, with neither decency nor discretion.' Almost all the plays of the more popular type are marked by this mingling of tragic and comic elements. *Cambises, Pacient Grissill, Locrine,* and *Apius and Virginia* are cases in point. Lady Pembroke's nice

[10] It is not necessary to consider Elizabethan comedies in this study, as Lady Pembroke's interests and efforts were confined to tragedy.

[11] *Defense,* p. 50.

sense of propriety in such matters, and her allegiance to classical rules, could not brook such indiscriminate mixture.

What was perhaps Sidney's chief cause of complaint against the tragedies of his day, was the general formlessness of the different plays. Sidney, and his sister after him, adhered to the Aristotelian theory that a tragedy, like all other forms of art and literature, should have a natural and logical beginning, middle, and end. But in most of the plays which were produced about him, there was not such a nice sense of form. A drama might begin anywhere and end anywhere. In most of the romantic dramas there was no external division into acts and scenes, and no attempt at consecutive development of plot. There was no evidence of any knowledge or appreciation of the laws of dramatic technique, and, from the standpoint of the Sidney circle, this was a very serious defect.

Furthermore, the tragedies of the popular stage were without style. Something has already been said of the noticeable difference between the masculine character of the earlier part of the sixteenth century and the feminine character of the latter half. This difference is nowhere more noticeable than in certain aspects of the literature of the century. In the earlier days of the century, the substance of a book or poem was the important thing. But in the last few decades of the period, and particularly in such a circle as that of the Countess of Pembroke, a play was judged not only by what was said in it, but quite as much by the manner in which it was said. Indeed, a character in a tragedy might be allowed to say almost anything or nothing, if only the words flowed with ease and elegance. This fact helps to account for the enormous vogue, in the polite society of the time, of the elaborately artificial style of writing commonly called euphuism. And so another count in the indictment against the romantic tragedies was their lack of elegant figures and conceits, their failure to employ those graceful circumlocutions and high-sounding epithets so dear to the hearts of the bluestockings—

in a word, their lack of style. The plays were full enough of meat—plain, unpretentious fare as it was—but they were devoid of those literary garnishes which the French tragedians, for instance, knew so well how to prepare.

In fine, then, the Countess of Pembroke and her group found the tragedy of the popular stage rough, uncouth, and unlearned; a drama of low life for the most part; wholly lacking in the proprieties and graces and restraints of the classical drama. The native drama of England was to their minds much what the native literature of France had been in the opinion of Du Bellay when he wrote his *Deffense*[12]—'épisseries qui corrumpent le goust de nostre Langue, et ne seruent si non a porter témoingnaige de nostre ignorance.' And because the drama of her own country bore witness only of the country's ignorance, she turned for inspiration to the more enlightened and erudite tragedies of France. There was no hope of reforming English tragedy by meeting its composers half way, or by compromising with any of its principles. And there was no hope of its reforming itself so long as the playwrights catered to the groundlings for the box receipts, and so long as the groundlings desired nothing better than what they got. It was, therefore, with something of the zeal of the early Christian ascetics that the little coterie of academic tragedians withdrew from the world of the popular stage, and separated themselves from its naughtiness to work out their own salvation, and the salvation of English tragedy. Ephraim was wedded to his idols, so the exclusive little group let him severely alone.

It was the purpose of Lady Pembroke to impart a more intellectual atmosphere to English tragedy, and the intellectual aspect of Garnier's dramas must have been one of the first of their qualities to attract her attention. We have seen that, contrasted with the tragedies of Seneca, the plays

[12] *Deffense et Illustration de la Langue Françoyse,* ed. Person, Paris, 1892, 2. 4. 113.

of the French poet are more emotional, and less coldly rationalistic, than those of the Roman playwright. But this does not preclude Garnier from being at the same time scholarly and erudite, or detract in any way from the intellectual character of his work. And it was just such drama as his that the intellectual aristocracy in England now wanted. They felt that England was not the intellectual equal of the Continent, and it was as a leader in the crusade against ignorance and barbarism that the members of Sidney's group acclaimed his sister. In dedicating *Delia* to the Countess in 1592, Samuel Daniel declared that she had become the 'Patronesse of the Muses (a glory hereditary to your house) to preserue them from those hidious Beestes, Obliuion and Barbarisme,' and in the dedication of his tragedy *Cleopatra* to the same lady in 1594, he speaks of the efforts of both Lady Pembroke and her deceased brother to resist the progress of barbarism:[13]

> Now when so many Pennes (like Speares) are charg'd,
> To chase away this tyrant of the North;
> Grosse Barbarisme, whose powre grown far inlarg'd
> Was lately by thy valiant brothers worth
> First found, encountred, and prouoked forth:
> Whose onset made the rest audacious,
> Whereby they likewise haue so well discharg'd
> Vpon that hideous Beast incroching thus.
>
> And now must I with that poore strength I haue,
> Resist so foule a foe in what I may:
> And arme against Obliuion and the Graue,
> That else in darkenesse carries all away,
> And makes of all an vniuersall pray;
> So that if by me Penne procure I shall
> But to defend me, and my name to saue,
> Then though I die, I cannot yet die all.

In 1595, William Clerke, the author of *Polimanteia,* complains in a similar fashion in his preface to the reader:[14]

We are fallen into the barren age of the worlde, (courteous

[13] Daniel's *Works,* ed. Grosart, 3. 24.

[14] *Polimanteia,* ed. Grosart (*Occasional Issues of Unique and very Rare Books*), 14. 5.

Reader) wherein though some few travaile to expell Barbarisme, (which fortunately they have done in our English tongue) yet a number of idle conceited-wise-foolish heades take upon them peremptorily to censure other men's paines.

And from the same writer's subsequent praise of Kyd's translation of Garnier's *Cornélie*,[15] we may infer that he was thinking, among others, of Lady Pembroke and her circle when he wrote of those few who 'travaile to expell Barbarisme.'

It was, indeed, a very interesting and critical time in the intellectual and cultural history of England. The country was in a state of general disorder, and the century as a whole was one of unrest and uncertainty. The nation had not yet recovered from the change from one economic system to another, which attended the Wars of the Roses, when the old nobility disappeared, and a new one was created from yeomen and trading stock. The capricious tyranny of Henry VIII had not helped matters. And in the literary world the disorder and unrest were quite as great. Nothing was stable. There was a constant search in French and Italian literature for models of expression which might be used in England, and as constant a change of old models for new. The feeling among literary reformers in England at this time was analogous to that of Du Bellay and the others of the Pleiade at the middle of the century in France, when they announced that the salvation of French literature could be accomplished only by going to the ancients and imitating them. English writers were not sure of themselves, and they were earnestly in search of a pattern by which they could work. This attitude helps to account for Sir Philip Sidney's disappointment at being unable to recommend *Gorboduc* as 'an exact model of all tragedies.' Nothing less than 'an exact model' would satisfy them, and *Gorboduc*, with all its merits, was still not sufficiently free from certain

[15] See below, p. 131.

defects of the more popular drama to please this intellectual aristocracy.

That Garnier belonged to the group of dramatists who wrote for the educated and cultured, however few they might be, rather than lower his standards for the amusement of the multitude, was therefore another reason why he appealed to the Countess of Pembroke. Ever since the revival of learning, there had been a gradual division of the nation into a learned group and an unlearned group. By the time of the composition of Sidney's *Defense,* the formation of an intellectual and cultured aristocracy, which looked with disdain on the great mass of the unlearned, was complete. It is significant that the motto of the *Defense of Poesy* is the Horatian line,

Odi profanum vulgus et arceo.

The same spirit of intellectual superiority pervaded the theories of Lady Pembroke and her circle. They recognized gladly the quality of exclusiveness in Garnier. His dramas were not intended for the groundlings. Their very nature limited their appeal to the learned audience or reader. They belonged to the literature of the clique, and it was to such cliques as that of the Countess of Pembroke that they made their strongest appeal. They were exclusive, moreover, not only in respect to readers and audiences, but in the matter of subjects treated, as well. They did not mingle clowns and kings, tragedy and horse-play, the sublime and the farcical. Garnier's idea of tragedy was akin to that of La Taille:[16]

La Tragédie donc est vne espece, et vn genre de Poesie non vulgaire, mais autant élégant, beau et excellent qu'il est possible. Son vray subiect ne traicte que de piteuses ruines des grands Seigneurs, que des inconstances de Fortune, que banissements, guerres, pestes, famines, captiuitez, execrables cruautez des Tyrans.

The misfortunes of noble houses alone furnished the themes

[16] Cf. *L'Art de la Tragédie,* ed. Werner, *Münchener Beiträge* 40. 10.

of his plays, and the manner of portrayal was always in keeping with the matter portrayed. Much of the extravagant praise accorded Garnier by his contemporaries was due to the fact that his plays were free from evidence of contact with the *profanum vulgus.* In the fourth poem of commendation at the head of his tragedy of *Hippolyte,* he is assured of a reward for serving the fit, though few, and laurels will be provided, says the writer of the poem, for his erudite brow:

> Hae sunt deliciae nouem Sororum
> His captae illecebris, tibi in profana
> Fiunt urbe duces, et eruditae
> Lauros praemia frontis, albicanti
> Distinguunt hedera, quibus nouenas
> Festinent capiti tuo coronas.

The passion of Lady Pembroke and her circle for elegance and correctness was thus thoroughly satisfied in Garnier's tragedies. The French poet, like a careful housewife, had refined away from the myths and the histories which he had used all their crudities and obscenities, and it would have been difficult for even the most meticulous person to be offended by anything in his plays.

Again, when the romantic tragedians had essayed to treat historical subjects, their plays abounded in anachronisms and misinterpretations. Not so with Garnier, who was a most scholarly playwright, and quoted chapter and verse on all occasions. The careful and painstaking manner in which he wrote his dramas, in contrast with the loosely-written and melodramatic fashion in which the popular authors produced plays for the passing amusement of the untutored multitude, greatly strengthened the appeal of his dramas with our circle. His love of abstractions and speculations, and his intellectual analysis of emotions, also, were not without influence on the academic group of which one of the members, Fulke Greville, was to produce the most purely intellectual dramas in the language.

It was to France, then, that the eccentric leader of this light brigade turned for guidance in what Pasquier, speaking of the somewhat similar mission of the Pleiade, called 'la belle guerre que l'on entreprit contre l'ignorance.' In the tragedies of Robert Garnier she saw all the things needful, all that she had failed to find in the native English drama. The English plays were without form: those of Garnier were composed with punctilious attention to the classical rules of form. The native tragedies were made up of a motley assemblage of all sorts of material, with no particular connection, and without any definite and logical arrangement. Garnier's legal habit of thinking had, on the other hand, shown itself in the orderly development of his plots. Each act and each scene had a definite function in the drama, and fulfilled it. Sidney, in his *Defense,* had found fault with English dramatists of the type of the author of *Locrine* for beginning their plots *ab ovo,* and representing the events of twenty years or more in a single play. No better example of how to begin a drama, and how to arrange the material of the plot, according to Sidneian standards, could be found than in the tragedies of Garnier. His *Marc Antoine,* which Lady Pembroke singled out for translation, has to do only with the events of the last day of the lives of Antony and Cleopatra. All the fighting and the lovemaking are over; nothing is left for the principal characters to do but to talk about it, and die. In the *Antigone,* also, Garnier omits all the distasteful preliminaries of the story of Oedipus, and presents him in the first act as already blind and broken.

It was through the stage-action of the English tragedies that most of the faults which we have been discussing crept into them. So long as a group of characters was allowed to come on the stage, and actually represent the incidents of which the play treated, abuses of the kind to which Lady Pembroke objected would arise. If two enemies were allowed to meet on the stage, an encounter would inevitably ensue, and if they fought, one or both of them would be

killed. Stage decencies would suffer, and before long one would have scenes like those of the last act of the *Spanish Tragedie*. If a clown or other unseemly person should be allowed to enter, one would soon have stage-directions like those of Preston's *Cambises:* 'Let the Vice fetch a dish of nuts, and let them fall in the bringing of them in,' with the accompanying horse-play. Manifestly, then, according to the theories of Lady Pembroke, in order to prohibit and provide against any such contamination of tragedy, stage-action in general must be done away with; and, further, to prevent any unseemly or melodramatic action, the principal characters in a tragedy must not be allowed to meet, or must meet only rarely, and under proper restraint and surveillance.

This is exactly the theory to which Garnier adheres. In his plays the action is replaced by narrative, and the parts of the nuntius and the chorus, since they have to do triple duty in reporting and commenting upon all that is supposed to take place off stage, are greatly enlarged. It was partly to avoid the excessive monotony which would have resulted if the play had been composed of nothing but long monologues and soliloquies, that Garnier made his chorus entirely lyrical, and gave to the drama as a whole its predominantly lyrical effect. Such a type of tragedy was very welcome to the members of the academic group in England, who felt that the native drama was too matter-of-fact, and too much taken up with the grim realities of the world about them. It was thus largely by the substitution of lyrical and elegiac narrative for all the rough-and-tumble stage-action of the romantic tragedies, that Lady Pembroke purposed to win back English tragedy from its erring way.

Finally, it was not the least of Garnier's recommendations in the eyes of Lady Pembroke that the moral tone of his dramas was above reproach. Sidney praised *Gorboduc* chiefly because it was 'full of notable morality, which it doth most delightfully teach, and so obtain the very end of

poesy."[17] We have already noticed the moral and didactic purpose underlying all of Garnier's writings, and the intensely patriotic fervor which he exhibits. There is about him an air of the schoolmaster and the reformer, and the tedious moralizing which fills so many of his pages appealed to Lady Pembroke and her friends as strongly as it repels the modern reader. For the Countess of Pembroke was intensely religious, and she had a preference for works of a religious cast. She and her brother had begun a joint translation of the Psalms about 1580, which she finished after his death. Before beginning her translation of Garnier's *Marc Antoine,* she had also translated a French treatise, *Le Excellent Discours de la Vie et de la Mort,* the work of the famous Du Plessis Mornay, counsellor to Henri IV, and a voluminous writer on political and religious subjects. Her translation of the treatise was printed together with her *Antoine* in 1592, and the fact that the two translations appeared together indicates that the moral and philosophic sentiments of Garnier's tragedy were not left out of consideration when she chose it for translation.

Professor Cunliffe, in his work on the influence of Seneca in English literature,[18] speaks of the ease with which a nation that saw so much of lust and cruelty took to the dramas of Seneca. And it was just because she deprecated so strongly this attitude of the public and the popular playwrights, which resulted in the low moral and cultural tone of the stage, that the sister of Sidney chose Garnier's plays, as being impeccable, and capable of imparting a higher moral, intellectual, and patriotic tone to English tragedy. It is, once again, another striking tribute to the difference between the works and the influence of the Latin and the French tragedian that the dramas of the one should have been chosen as the best corrective of the evil effects of the works of the

[17] P. 47.
[18] P. 17.

other; that Garnier's plays became the standard of excellence raised by this camp of literary exquisites in their opposition to the rival camp of popular playwrights under the tutelage of Seneca.

It should now be clear just what the Countess of Pembroke was looking for in her search after that 'exact pattern' which her brother had sought after and failed to find; and how thoroughly the tragedies of Garnier supplied, in the opinion of his sister, the qualities which Sidney had stated or implied as being requisite. The question as to whether Sir Philip would have agreed with his sister in thinking that Garnier's plays were exact patterns, and fulfilled the demands in every particular, is an interesting one, but hardly pertinent here. And the question as to whether both Sidney and his sister were right or wrong, or to what extent they were right or wrong, in their ideas and opinions regarding the needs of English tragedy, is also beside the point in this discussion. We are concerned here only with the fact that they did have very definite opinions as to the defects of the romantic tragedy of their day, and equally definite views as to what was needed for its reformation, the correction of its lawless tendencies, and the development, improvement, and enrichment of English tragedy in accordance with the rules of classical drama. With such ideas in mind, the Countess chose Robert Garnier as the master-tragedian to be followed by her school, and his dramas as the best contemporary specimens of the tragedian's art. The results of this choice, and the influence which Garnier, unknown to himself, exercised on this little esoteric group of writers across the channel, and through it on Elizabethan drama in general, will be considered in the remaining chapters of this study.

CHAPTER IV.

The Nature and Extent of Garnier's Influence on English Dramatists.

Few movements in the history of English literature can be quite so thoroughly surveyed, and so neatly analyzed, as this attempt of Lady Pembroke and her friends to reform English tragedy. Its ability to be detached from its surroundings and studied by itself is due largely to the fact that it was so lacking in spontaneity, and so mechanical in nature. The whole matter may be summed up as succinctly as a mathematical process. With the seven tragedies of Garnier as general models, a group of seven English writers produced within a period of less than twenty-five years some dozen plays. These are the basic facts in the case, and our further discussion will consist in the examination of these plays, the study of their relations to the French models, and their interrelations among themselves.

Of the twelve plays, two are translations—the Countess of Pembroke's *Antoine,* written in 1590 and published in 1592, a translation of Garnier's *Marc Antoine;* and Thomas Kyd's *Cornelia,* published in 1594, a translation of the French poet's *Cornélie.* The first original tragedy in English of the Garnier type, and the best of the twelve plays under discussion, was Samuel Daniel's *Cleopatra,* which also appeared in 1594. Four years later, Samuel Brandon brought out his *Tragicomoedi of the Vertuous Octavia,* a play obviously inspired by Daniel's *Cleopatra,* and doubtless intended by its author as a companion-piece to that play and to Lady Pembroke's *Antonie.* After the beginning of the new century, Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, a close friend of Sir Philip Sidney, wrote two tragedies, *Alaham* and *Mustapha.* A second drama by Daniel, *The Tragedy of Philotas,* made its appearance in 1605, some eleven years after his *Cleopatra.*

About the same time, Daniel's friend, the young Scottish poet, William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, was writing his *Monarchicke Tragedies,* four in number—*Darius,* 1603; *Crœsus,* 1604; *The Alexandræan Tragedy,* 1605; and *Julius Cæsar,* 1607. The last drama that can in any real sense be said to have been influenced by Garnier, or to have received inspiration from the movement inaugurated by the Countess of Pembroke, is *The Tragedy of Mariam,* by Elizabeth Carew, which was printed in 1613, but certainly written not less than ten years earlier.

The works of the English imitators fall into three groups: (1) the two translations, *Antonie* and *Cornelia;* (2) the direct imitations of Garnier's tragedies, Daniel's *Cleopatra* and Brandon's *Octavia;* and (3) the dramas based on Garnier's tragedies as a general model, but with more or less freedom in treatment—Greville's *Alaham* and *Mustapha,* Daniel's *Philotas,* the four *Monarchicke Tragedies* of Alexander, and Lady Carew's *Mariam.* We shall first discuss the individual plays in some detail, and then consider the group as a whole, to determine the extent of Garnier's influence upon it.

The causes which led Lady Pembroke to choose the plays of Robert Garnier as models for the tragedies which she wished to see produced in England, have already been discussed. She herself began the movement toward the reformation of English tragedy by translating Garnier's *Marc Antoine.* The translation appeared in 1592 in a beautiful octavo volume, elegantly printed on fine paper, an ensample both spiritually and physically of all that an ideal tragedy should be. In translating the play, she followed, as Miss Luce has shown in her study of Antonie, the 1585 edition of Garnier's works, or some subsequent edition. She rearranged the argument of the original to suit herself, as Garnier had done in the case of the plays which he translated or adapted from Seneca and Euripides. The content of the argument, although not different from that of Gar-

nier's tragedy, is altogether lacking in that poetic sentiment which Garnier could infuse even into the prose outline of a play. His expression to the effect that, at the battle of Philippi, 'la liberté Romaine rendit les derniers soupirs,' becomes, in the English lady's version, a commonplace statement like 'the libertie of Rome being now utterly oppressed.' Likewise, virtuous lady as she was, she did not think it needful or edifying to dwell on the charms of Cleopatra, and where the Frenchman had written with some animation of 'la singulière beauté de Cléopatre, Roine d'Egypte, arriuée en Cilice en royale magnificence,' she dismisses the fair Egyptian with a curt phrase, 'Cleopatra Queene of Ægypt,' At the close of the argument. she adds the words, 'The stage supposed Alexandria,' which are not in the original. Whether she expected that the play would ever be acted is not known. No record of its presentation has been found.

Whatever liberties she may have taken in arranging the argument, however, she did not allow herself the same freedom in translating the body of the play. She chose blank verse as the medium of her translation. Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* had been published also for the first time in 1590, the year in which the Countess wrote *Antonie,* but it would be difficult to find two types of blank verse more unlike than the mighty lines of Marlowe and the halting verses of Lady Pembroke. Her work has none of the force and vitality of Marlowe's drama, and her lines show none of the conscious assurance with which he always wrote. The task which Lady Pembroke set herself was that of turning Garnier's alexandrines into decasyllabic verse, and she tried as far as possible to make each of her lines represent a corresponding line in the original. It must be said that she has succeeded in this attempt remarkably well, but only at the sacrifice of articles, adjectives, and connectives, and she is forced very often to invert the normal order of the sentence. Her verse is, as a result, rough and harsh for the most part,

and at times so cryptic and condensed as to be almost unintelligible. The following passages will illustrate these qualities of her poetry (7-16, 1954-9):

> It's meete I dye. For her have I forgone
> My country, Caesar unto Warre provok'd
> (For just revenge of Sisters wrong, my wife,
> Who mou'de my Queene (ay me!) to iealousie).
> For love of her, in her allurements caught,
> Abandon'd life, I honor have despisde,
> Disdain'd my freends, and of the statelye Rome
> Despoilde the Empire of her best attire,
> Contemn'd that power that made me so much fear'd,
> A slave become unto her feeble face.
>
> Liued thus long, the winged race of yeares,
> Ended I have as Destinie decreed,
> Flourish'd and raign'd, and taken just reuenge
> Of him who me both hated and despisde.
> Happie, alas too happie! if of Rome
> Only the fleete had hither neuer come.

Whatever else may be said for the following excerpt (39-50), it can hardly be called good poetry:

> But when that Death, my glad refuge, shall haue
> Bounded the course of my unstedfast life,
> And frozen corpse under a marble colde
> Within tombes bosome widowe of my soule:
> Then at his will let him it subject make:
> Then what he will let Caesar doo with me:
> Make me limme after limme be rent: make me
> My buriall take in sides of Thracian wolfe.

It would be difficult to find in all English drama worse lines than the following (1894 ff.):

> Thy children thou, mine I, poore soule, haue lost,
> And lost their Father, more than them I waile. . . .
> Who furnish will mine eies with streaming teares
> My boiling anguish worthilie to waile,
> Waile thee Antonie, Antonie my heart?
> Alas, how much I weeping liquor want!

From these excerpts, it will be seen that Lady Pembroke has kept too conscientiously to the text of her original. She

has taken over the letter exceedingly well, but the spirit has escaped her. Sentences which in the original French fall trippingly from the tongue, become curiously rough and inept when she translates them literally into English. The following parallel passages illustrate some characteristics of her translations of Garnier's verses:

Puisque tous les malheurs de la ronde machine
Conspirent contre moy.
(Garnier 2, 3)

Since all mishappes of the round engine doo
Conspire my harme.
(Lady Pembroke 2, 3)

L'on montoit d'vne corde Antoine peu a peu
Que l'ame alloit laissant.
(G. 1636-7)

Little by little Antonie was pull'd
Now breathing death.
(L. P. 1637-8)

Le sang au coeur me gele, et me sens tout esmeu:
Ie demeure pasmé, ma poitrine agitee
Me retient au gosier la parole arrestee.
Il est mort, il est mort, de cela soyez seur,
Ce large coutelas en est le meurtrisseur.
Cesar. Helas! le coeur me fend, la pitié me bourrelle
L'estomach pantelant, d'ouir cette nouuelle.
(G. 1547-53)

My hart doth freeze, my limmes doe quiuering quake,
I fenceles stand, my brest with tempest tost
Killes in my throte my wordes, ere fully borne.
Dead, dead he is: be sure of what I say.
This murthering sword hath made the man away.
Caesar. Alas my heart doth cleaue, pittie me rackes,
My breast doth pant to heare this dolefull tale.
(L. P. 1549-55)

Des Parthes tu n'as plus ny de leurs arcs souci,
D'escarmouches, d'assauts, ne d'allarmes aussi,
De fossez, de rampars, de gardes, ne de rondes:
Tu ne veux que reuoir les Canopides ondes.
(G. 107 ff.)

Thou car'st no more for Parth nor Parthian bow,
Sallies, assaults, encounters, shocks, alarmes,
For dichès, rampiers, wards, entrenched grounds:
Thy only care is sight of Nilus streames.
(L. P. 107 ff.)

Des hommes l'amitié doit estre tousiours vne,
Sans bransler, variable, auecque la Fortune,
Qui tousiours se desplace, et oncques ne voudroit
Arrester constamment sa boule en vn endroit.
Aussi faut receuoir comme chose vsagere
Les reuocables biens qu'elle preste legere.
(G. 980-5)

Men in their friendship euer should be one,
And neuer ought with fickle Fortune shake,
Which still remoues, nor will, nor knowes the way,
Her rowling bowle in one sure state to staie.
Wherefore we ought as borrowed things receiue
The goods light she lends us to pay againe.
(L. P. 980-5)

From these passages it will be seen that Lady Pembroke's translation, although it conveys the sense of Garnier's tragedy sufficiently well, gives no suggestion of that fugitive elegiac charm which is, after all, his most valuable asset as a poet, and is the salt without which the whole work loses its savor.

The choruses of the translation are its best parts. In writing them, she allowed herself more liberty, and attempted to reproduce the spirit of the original rather than its exact verbal counterpart.[1] Although she never quite attains to

[1] Sir Sidney Lee, in his article on the Countess of Pembroke in the *D. N. B.*, is in error in stating that she added 'some choral lyrics of her own.' The choruses throughout are only free translations of Garnier.

the lightness and grace of Garnier's strophes, she does, nevertheless, often reach a high level of poetical expression, and shows a great deal of skill in choosing strophe-forms to reproduce the varied effects of the French choruses. Some idea of her treatment of Garnier's choric songs may be gained from a comparison of the following selections from the two works:

O vagueux prince des Fleuues,
Des Ethiopes l'honneur,
Il faut qu'ores tu espreuues
Le seruage d'vn Seigneur:
Que du Tybre, qui est moindre
En puissance et en renom,
Voises reuerant le nom,
Qui fait tous les flouues craindre
Superbes de la grandeur
Des siens qui veulent enceindre
De ce monde la rondeur.
(G. 765-75)

Wandring Prince of rivers thou,
Honor of the Aethiops lande,
Of a Lord and master now
Thou a slaue in awe must stand.
Now of Tiber which is spred
Lesse in force, and lesse in fame,
Reuerence thou must the name,
Whome all other riuers dread,
For by his children swolne in pride,
Who by conquest seeke to treade
Round this earth on euery side.
(L. P. 765-75)

Nos regrets ne sont limitez
Non plus que nos aduersitez,
Qui n'ont point de mesure.
Que ceux lamentent par compas,
Qui telles miseres n'ont pas
Que celles que i'endure.
(G. 381-6)

Our plaints no limits stay,
  No more than doo our woes;
  Both infinitely straie
  And neither measure knowes.
    In measure let them plaine:
    Who measur'd griefes sustaine.
(L. P. 381-6)

Lady Pembroke's verse is, in general, faultless so far as metre and rhythm go, although, as we have seen, she had to sacrifice a great deal in order to crowd the meaning of an alexandrine into an English line of ten syllables. Many lines which would now be considered uneven and irregular were rendered regular then by the pronunciation of such words as *evil* and *given* as monosyllables.[2] Except in the choruses, rhyme is used only in the passages of stichomythic dialogue, in the couplets which end scenes and acts, and occasionally at the close of an important paragraph.[3]

We may describe Lady Pembroke's *Antonie,* then, as an extremely careful and conscientious work, executed by one who knew French well, and who was versed in classic history and legend. She was thus capable of understanding and interpreting the content of the play, and of presenting it in a dignified manner. But, inasmuch as her interest in it was largely intellectual, and her purpose savored of educational propaganda, her translation is lacking in those lyrical and emotional touches which are so important a part of the original. Her *Antonie* represents Garnier's tragedy with about the same faithfulness and the same deficiencies that a photograph discloses in reproducing an oil painting.

Within less than two years after the publication of *Antonie,* Garnier's *Cornélie* was translated by Thomas Kyd, who had several years before produced one of the most popular of all Elizabethan tragedies, and the one which is perhaps

[2] Cf. Abbott, *Shakspearean Grammar* § 466.

[3] A detailed analysis of the verse of *Antonie,* which is not pertinent to this study, is given by Luce, p. 42.

most unlike the type of drama that Lady Pembroke was encouraging. How comes it, then, that we find the author of *The Spanish Tragedie,* the Saul of the popular stage, among the prophets of the Wilton school? It has been plausibly conjectured by Professor Boas[4] and others that it was not altogether, or even chiefly, the fine zeal of the reformer that led the author of *The Spanish Tragedie* to give to the English public a translation of Garnier's graceful, but somewhat insipid, *Cornélie.* From Kyd's dedication of his translation to the Countess of Sussex, we learn that all was not well with him at the time he wrote *Cornelia.* He begins,

> Hauing no leysure (most noble Lady) but such as euermore is traueld with th' afflictions of the minde, then which the world affoords no greater misery, it may be wondred at by some, how I durst vndertake a matter of this moment: which both requireth cunning, rest and opportunity; but chiefely that I would attempt the dedication of so rough, vnpollished a worke to the suruey of your so worthy selfe. . . . A fitter present for a Patronesse so well accomplished I could not finde then this faire president of honour, magnanimitie, and loue. Wherein, what grace that excellent GARNIER hath lost by my defaulte, I shall beseech your Honour to repaire with the regarde of those so bitter times and priuie broken passions that I endured in the writing of it.
>
> And so vouchsafing but the passing of a Winters weeke with desolate Cornelia, I will assure your Ladiship my next Sommers better trauell with the Tragedy of Portia.

The inference is that Kyd's pecuniary circumstances were rather straitened, and that he was trying to recuperate his fortunes by attracting the attention, and gaining the approval, of the Countess of Pembroke, whose generosity toward poets was well known. But if Kyd was trying to enter the charmed circle at Wilton for the sake of the loaves and the fishes, he was to be disappointed. Apparently neither recognition nor help was forthcoming. His *Cornelia* was a failure even with the small section of the public that Lady Pembroke wrote for. Her *Antonie* was still a favorite in polite circles,

[4] *The Works of Thomas Kyd,* ed. Boas, pp. lxxiv ff.

and within three years after its appearance had attained the dignity of a second edition. But *Cornelia* came still-born from the press. Here and there a scholar praised it. The author of *Polimanteia* has something to say[5] of a better time approaching, when the 'smaller lights' of literature should 'blushinglie hide themselves at the Sun's appeare. Then should not tragicke Garnier have his poore Cornelia stand naked upon euery poste.' He adds, by way of comment in the gloss, 'A work howsoeuer not respected yet excellently done by Th. Kidd.'

Boas quotes[6] from an *Epicedium,* composed in 1594, to the memory of Lady Helen Branch, a reference to Kyd as the poet who

> pen'd the praise of sad Cornelia,
> Whose blameless name hath made her fame so rife,
> As noble Pompeys most renowned wife.

It is possible that this compliment to Kyd, and the reference to Cornelia in this fashion, may have suggested the change in the title-page of Kyd's translation, when an attempt was made to resuscitate it the following year. At any rate it was reissued in 1595 as *Pompey the Great, his Faire Corneliaes Tragedie.*[7]

Kyd's *Cornelia* was without doubt due primarily to Lady Pembroke's translation of *Marc Antonie,* but he had been acquainted with Garnier's tragedy several years before the Countess made her translation. In *The Spanish Tragedie,* 1587, the Spanish general's description of the battle in which Andrea met his death (1. 2), contains a good many details borrowed from the messenger's account of the battle of Thapsus in Garnier's *Cornélie* (5. 1577 ff.).

[5] P. 38.

[6] P. lxxvi.

[7] Upham, p. 81, is in error in giving this as the title of the translation as first issued. The 1594 issue had the simple title, *Cornelia,* without the author's name. It was not reprinted again after 1595 until Dodsley brought it out in 1744, in Vol. 2 of his *Select Collection of Old English Plays.*

Cornelia is, in reality, a paraphrase rather than a translation of Garnier's tragedy. This is due to several reasons. In the first place, Kyd was gifted with a greater portion of poetic ability than Lady Pembroke, for instance, and a writer with so much originality as Kyd, and with so little in common with Garnier, would naturally find it difficult to confine himself to a strict following of the Frenchman. There was always the temptation and the opportunity to touch up the French original, and Kyd rarely missed such an opportunity. Again, however closely Kyd might have wished to follow the original, his knowledge of French was somewhat limited, and he was thus unable to translate with any great degree of accuracy. Nor was he sufficiently conversant with classical mythology and history to understand all of Garnier's numerous allusions and figures of speech. Kyd was aware of his deficiencies in these respects, and it is doubtless for this reason that he mentions in the dedication of the translation to the Countess of Sussex his lack of 'cunning,' and laments that his work is so 'rough and unpollished.' Lady Pembroke, then, since she was much more of a scholar than Kyd, produced a translation far more accurate than his; but Kyd, who was a much better poet than the Countess, has given us a much better piece of literature, and a much more pleasing work.

An examination of Kyd's work, in comparison with the original, discloses the great freedom which he allowed himself in translating. His conscience was troubled by none of the scruples which led Lady Pembroke to translate *Marc Antonie* line by line, and to refrain except where absolutely necessary from changing so much as the voice or tense of a verb. Kyd was interested only in preserving the general sense and impression of any particular passage. A good idea of his manner of translation may be gained from a comparison of the following passage from Garnier's play with Kyd's rendering of it:

Tu es comme vn nauire errant en haute mer,
Lors que la Bise fait les vagues escumer,
Tu roules perilleuse, et le vent qui te berse
Deça dela flotante, a demi te renuerse.
Ton mas est tout brisé, tes voiles abatus,
Tes costez entrouuerts de rames deuestus:
Tu n'as plus de cordage, et toutefois sans cables
Les vaisseaux ne sont point contre l'eau desensables.
Regard que de rocs leuent sur toy le front,
Si tu les vas heurtant, ils te mettront en fond,
Despouille de Neptune, et iouet miserable
Des Glauques et Tritons au coeur impitoyable.
(G. 75-86)

For Rome thou now resemblest a ship,
At random wandring in a boistrous Sea,
When foming billowes feele the Northern blasts:
Thou toylst in perill, and the windie storme
Doth topside-turuey tosse thee as thou flotest:
Thy Mast is shyuer'd, and thy maine-sale torne;
Thy sides sore beaten, and thy hatches broke;
Thou want'st thy tackling, and a Ship unrig'd
Can make no shift to combat with the Sea.
See how the Rocks do heave their heads at thee,
Which if thou sholdst but touch, thou straight becomst
A spoyle to Neptune, and a sportfull praie
To th' Glauc's and Trytons, pleas'd with thy decay.
(K. 1. 1. 79-91)

It can thus be seen that Kyd's translation is far more spirited and vigorous than Lady Pembroke's, and *Cornelia* is largely free from the stiffness which is so noticeable throughout *Antonie*. But Kyd does not always follow Garnier even so closely as in the extract just cited. Sometimes he uses the original only to furnish him with the skeleton of a thought, which he then clothes with muscles and sinews of his own making. Two passages will serve to show the characteristic freedom which he exercises whenever a suggestion of the French poet's appeals especially strongly to his fancy:

Desia la nuict muette, ayant fait long seiour,
Tournoit plus loing du soir que de l'Aube du iour:
Et desia le Bouuier sous le ventre de l'Ourse
De ses boeufs lens pressoit la paresseuse course,
Quand vn petit sommeil (s'il faut ainsi nommer
Vn étourdissement qui nous vient assommer)
Coula dedans mes yeux inuisitez au somme,
Las et chargez des pleurs du dueil qui me consomme.
(G. 669-76)

The silent Night that long had soiourned,
Now gan to cast her sable mantle off,
And now the sleepie Waine-man softly droue
His slow-pac'd Teeme, that long had traueled;
When (like a slumber, if you tearme it so)
A dulnes, that disposeth vs to rest,
Gan close the windowes of my watchfull eyes,
Already tyered and loaden with my teares.
(K. 3. 1. 67 ff.)

Mais ô Dieux qui regnez au silence profond
Des effroyables nuits où les trespassez vont:
Dieux qui par les manoirs des ombres languissantes
Entre les pleurs, les cris, et les plaintes sonnantes
Exercez vostre Empire, ô Dieux maistres de tous,
Démaisonnez mon ame et la tirez a vous:
Ie suis plus que demie en vos prisons capables.
(G. 241-47)

But yee, sad Powers, that rule the silent deepes
Of dead-sad Night, where sinnes doe maske unseene:
You that among the darksome mansions
Of pyning ghosts, twixt sighes, and sobs, and teares,
Do exercise your mirthlesse Empory:
Yee gods (at whose arbitrament all stand)
Dislodge my soule, and keepe it with your selues,
For I am more than halfe your prisoner.
(K. 2. 1. 19 ff.)

It wil be observed that Kyd misunderstands Garnier's expression, 'où les trespassez vont,' and his fancy seizes on the lively image of the seven deadly sins dancing in the dark!

It is not necessary here to catalogue all the mistransla-

tions and the inaccuracies of which Kyd is guilty, or all the changes and emendations which he makes in the text of the play. They proceed, as has been said, largely from his faulty knowledge of the French language and classical literature. Some of his renderings of Garnier's allusions are amusingly wide of the mark. He translates the expression, 'sang Lernean,' as 'Lerna's blood,' evidently not knowing that the French poet was referring to the Lernæan hydra slain by Hercules. And the epithets, 'Ferétrien,' and 'Stateur,' which Garnier applies to Jupiter (797), Kyd misunderstands entirely, rendering the first for some inexplicable reason as 'Minerva,' and the second as 'Stator,' whom he apparently takes to be one of Jupiter's fellow-deities. The term 'Auton' (the South Wind), he translates as Autumn, and the phrase, 'Maire l'honneur d'Arpin,' suffers a metamorphosis into 'noble Marius, Arpins friend,' as the result of the translator's inability to distinguish between a field of battle and a person. Likewise, either through ignorance or through carelessness, he renders the term, 'mon gendre,' used by Cæsar of his son-in-law, Pompey, as 'my brother-in-law.'

In translating the choruses, Kyd, like Lady Pembroke, showed much ingenuity in reproducing the varied effect of the original by the use of different strophe-forms, each of his choruses having its own peculiar metrical arrangement. He does not try to do more than give the general meaning of Garnier's verses, as a comparison of the following excerpts from the original and the translation will indicate:

> Lors ils tirent de sa cauerne
> La noire Peste, pour soufler
> Vn venin puisé dans l'Auerne,
> Et le souflant corrompent l'air:
> Ou la Famine chagrineuse
> Aux membres foibles de maigreur:
> Ou la Guerre pleine d'horreur,
> Plus que toutes deux outrageuse.
> (G. 167 ff.)

> Then from her lothsome Caue doth Plague repaire,
> That breaths her heauie poisons downe to hell:
> Which with their noisome fall corrupt the ayre,
> Or maigre famin, which the weake foretell,
> Or bloody warre (of other woes the worst)
> Which, where it lights, doth show the Land accurst,
> And nere did good, where euer it befell.
> (K. 1. 1. 173 ff.)

The translator of *Marc Antonie,* in her efforts to reproduce it as exactly as possible, adds only one couplet to the original, and omits only one line. Kyd omits half a hundred lines and adds a hundred others, many of which are not even suggested by the original.

His blank verse runs much more smoothly than that of the Countess. He has many more run-on lines, and a much greater percentage of feminine endings is to be noticed in *Cornelia* than in *Antonie.*[8]

In his dedication of *Cornelia* to the Countess of Sussex in the early part of 1594, Kyd promised a translation of Garnier's *Porcie* for the following summer. Whether his pecuniary circumstances improved so as to relieve him from the necessity of having to translate it, or whether he received such a cold welcome from the members of Lady Pembroke's coterie when he attempted to become one of them, that he was discouraged from any further work of the kind, is not certain. Professor Boas,[9] in speaking of the charges of atheism which were brought against Kyd, inclines to the opinion that 'the Countess [of Sussex] did not appreciate the association of her name with the work of a writer who was still under a cloud, and that this was why Kyd did not

[8] Luce, p. 44, suggests that Kyd, whose blank verse in *The Spanish Tragedie* was already favorably known, may have encouraged Lady Pembroke to use this medium in her *Antonie.* This seems hardly probable, however, in view of the different quality of the verse of the two plays. Other suggestions of Kyd's literary relations with the Countess, which do not seem convincing, may be found in an article by Schick, in Herrig's *Archiv* 90. 190 ff.

[9] P. lxxv.

carry out his promise of dedicating to her his "next Somers better trauell" with Garnier's kindred drama of *Porcie.*' However the case may have been, there is no evidence of his ever having set his hand to a translation of *Porcie,* and *Antonie* and *Cornelia* represent the only attempts at translating the tragedies of Garnier into English.

About the time that Kyd brought out his translation of *Cornélie,* another and greater evidence of the influence of Lady Pembroke's movement appeared in the publication of *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* by Samuel Daniel. It was the greatest work produced by the school of the Countess, and its author was the most gifted member of the coterie. It was Daniel upon whom the lady had placed her greatest hopes, and whom she expected to be the chief exponent of her dramatic principles. He had left Oxford in 1582 at the age of twenty, without having taken a degree;[10] and the rest of his education, so he tells us, he received from his patroness, the Countess, at her home at Wilton. It was she who first encouraged him to undertake the work of dramatic composition.[11] In dedicating his *Cleopatra* to her in 1594, he says,[12]

> And there is a new shepheard late up sprong,
> The which doth all afore him far surpasse;
> Appearing well in that well tuned song
> Which late he sung unto a scornfull lasse.
> Yet doth his trembling Muse but lowly flie,
> As daring not too rashly mount on hight,
> And doth her tender plumes as yet but trie
> In loves soft laies and looser thoughts delight.
> Then rouze thy feathers quickly, Daniell,
> And to what course thou please thy selfe advance:
> But most, me seemes, thy accent will excell
> In Tragick plaints and passionate mischance.
> Loe heere the labour which she did impose,

[10] Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses,* ed. Bliss, London, 1815, 2. 268.

[11] Spenser, in his *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* (c. 1591, published 1595), also encourages Daniel to lay aside his love-songs and try his hand at tragedy:

[12] *Works,* ed. Grosart, 3. 23 ff.

Whose influence did predominate my Muse:
The starre of wonder my desires first chose
To guide their trauels in the course I vse:
She, whose cleare brightnesse had the powre t'infuse
Strength to my thoughts, from whence these motions, came,
Call'd vp my spirits from out their low repose,
To sing of State, and tragicke notes to frame.

I, who (contented with an humble song,)
Made musique to my selfe that pleasd me best,
And onely told of DELIA and her wrong,
And prais'd her eyes, and plain'd mine owne vnrest:
(A text from whence my Muse had not digrest)
Madam, had not thy well grac'd Antony;
Who all alone, hauing remained long,
Requir'd his Cleopatra's company.

It will hardly be necessary to prove Daniel's whole-hearted allegiance to the dramatic principles of Garnier and Lady Pembroke. The Countess's own adoption of him, and Spenser's advising him to sing of tragic themes, indicate the nature of his friends' opinion of his work and abilities. The author of *Polimanteia,* whom we have already quoted in connection with Kyd's *Cornelia,* cannot speak too highly of the elegance of Daniel's verse:[13]

And vnlesse I erre, (a thing easie in such simplicitie) deluded by dearlie beloued *Delia,* and fortunatelie fortunate *Cleopatra;* Oxford thou maist extoll thy court-deare-verse happie Daniell, whose sweete refined muse, in contracted shape, were sufficient amongst men, to gaine pardon of the sinne to *Rosemond,* pittie to distressed *Cleopatra,* and euerliuing praise to her louing *Delia.*

In the Prologue to *Hymen's Triumph,* 1615, Daniel has something to say of the general character of his dramatic work:[14]

Wherein no wild, no rude, no antique sport,
But tender passions, motions, soft, and graue,
The still spectators must expect to haue.

In his *Apology* for *Philotas,* he gives us further information

[13] Pp. 44 ff.
[14] *Works,* ed. Grosart, 3. 331.

about his conception of tragedy, and his opinion of the popular stage of his day. He was, he says,[15]

driuen by necessity to make vse of my pen, and the Stage to bee the mouth of my lines, which before were neuer heard to speake but in silence; I thought the representing so true a History, in the ancient forme of a Tragedy, could not but haue had an unreprouuable passage with the time, and the better sort of men; seeing with what idle fictions, and grosse follies, the Stage at this day abused mens recreations.

Of his adherence to the principles and practices of those who wrote for select audiences, rather than for the masses, he leaves no doubt when, in his Epistle Dedicatory to the Prince, prefixed to *Philotas,* he says:[16]

And I although among the latter traine,
And least of those that sung unto this land,
Haue borne my part, though in an humble straine,
And pleasd the gentler that did vnderstand:
And neuer had my harmlesse pen at all
Distain'd with any loose immodestie,
Nor euer noted to be toucht with gall
To aggrauate the worst mans infamie.

But his tragedies of *Cleopatra* and *Philotas* are still better proofs of his attachment to the practices and principles of the Countess's school.

Cleopatra appeared as a sequel to *Antonie,* along with the third edition of *Delia,* in 1594, in a charming little volume, worthy for its elegance to stand on the same shelf with the Countess's *Antonie.* His tragedy is practically a continuation of the story of Garnier's *Marc Antoine,* although actually its plot does not follow the story of that tragedy, since the death of Cleopatra occurs presumably on the stage at the close of the Garnier drama, whereas Daniel's play begins with the heroine still alive, able to go to the tomb of Antony[17]

[15] P. 179.
[16] P. 102.
[17] In Garnier's tragedy, Antony seems to have been entombed in Cleopatra's monument, whereas in Daniel's play his interment is understood as having occurred elsewhere.

and sacrifice to his ghost, after which she returns to her monument, dines with great magnificence, dispatches letters to Octavius, attends to other final matters, and then does herself to death with the asp.

Cleopatra is composed with strict attention to the principles of the Garnier type of tragedy. The unities of time and action are adhered to, but, as often with Garnier, the unity of place is not observed. It has the conventional five acts, separated by lyrical choruses; the same absence of stage-action, and the consequent plethora of messengers' reports and monologues by the chief actors. The choruses show all the variety of metre and versification that we find in Garnier. The play is very gracefully done, and is marked throughout by all those qualities of refinement and good taste that are such distinguishing traits of the tragedies of Garnier.

Cleopatra has still another characteristic in common with the tragedies of the French poet. It is written in rhyme, whereas the translations of Lady Pembroke and Kyd had been done, except for the choruses, in blank verse. Daniel's rhyme-scheme, which consists largely of quatrains, is very irregular, and hardly suggests the absolute regularity of Garnier's alexandrines.

Although the theme of the love of Antony and Cleopatra had long been a favorite one for dramatists, no direct dramatic source for Daniel's drama has been found. It is probable that he knew Jodelle's *Cléopatre Captive,* 1552,[18] and he may have been acquainted with Giraldi Cinthio's tragedy on the same subject, which was published some eleven years before Jodelle's drama. But Plutarch's *Life of Antony,* as translated by Sir Thomas North, supplies almost all the material for the plot; and Garnier's tragedy provides the form and the rules of composition, as well as some of the subject-matter.

[18] Some resemblances between Jodelle's tragedy and *Cleopatra* are noted in Bubert's *Daniels Cleopatra,* etc., Königsberg, 1913.

Although Daniel was avowedly writing a companion-piece to Lady Pembroke's *Antonie,* there is no need to suppose, as some have done, that he did not know its French prototype, especially since he seems to be familiar with others of Garnier's tragedies. The impression gained by the reader of *Cleopatra,* indeed, is that its author knew the plays of the French tragedian almost by heart. There are constant suggestions of Garnier's themes, thoughts, mannerisms, and expressions, as may be seen from the following comparisons of passages of Daniel's tragedy with passages taken here and there from Garnier's plays:

Celuy vit bien plus seurement,
Qui loin de tout gouuernement,
Cache dessous vn toict de chaume,
Sans rien craindre et sans estre craint,
Incogneu, n'a l'esprit atteint
Des troubles sanglans du Royaume.
(*Cor.* 1297 ff.)

O how much better had it been for me,
From low descent, deriu'd of humble birth,
T'haue eat the sweet-sowre bread of pouertie,
And drunke of Nylus streames in Nylus earth?
Vnder the cou'ring of some quiet Cottage,
Free from the wrath of heauen, secure in minde,
Vntoucht when sad euents of Princes dotage
Confounds what euer mighty it doth finde.
(*Cleop.* 1007 ff.)

Ce pendant le peuple en endure,
C'est luy qui port tout le faix.
Car encor qu'il n'en puisse mais,
Il leur sert tousieurs de pasture.
(*Antig.* 974-7)

But is it Iustice that all we
The innocent poore multitude,
For great mens faults should punisht be,
And to destruction thus pursude?
(*Cleop.* 790-3)

Et les hommes, foible puissance,
Ne scauroyent arrester le cours
De ceste celeste influence
Qui domine dessur nos iours.
(*Cor.* 563-6)

In vaine doth man contend against the starr's
For that he seekes to make, his wisedome marr's.
(*Cleop.* 1045-6)

The dialogue in *La Troade* between Ulysses and Andromache over the fate of Astyanax seems to have suggested the similar discussion between Philostratus and Arius in Daniel's tragedy:

Andromache. Redouter vn enfant?
Ulysse. Vn enfant heritier
Des sceptres et vertus d'vn Prince si guerrier.
A. En vn age si tendre?
U. Il est tendre à ceste heure:
Mais tousiours en son age vn enfant ne demeure . . .
Ainsi d'vn grand brasier qu'on pensoit amorti,
Vn simple mécheron de la cendre sorti,
Dans la paille s'accroist, si que telle scintille
En peu d'heures pourra deuorer vne ville.
(*Tro.* 771 ff.)

Phi. Why must her issue pay the price of that?
Ari. The price is life that they are rated at.
P. Caesario too, issued of Caesar's blood?
A. Plurality of Caesars are not good.
P. Alas, what hurt procures his feeble arme?
A. Nor for it doth, but that it may do harme.
P. Then when it offers hurt, represse the same.
A. Tis best to quench a sparke before it flame.
P. Tis inhumane an innocent to kill.
A. Such innocents seldome remaine so still.
(*Cleop.* 579-589)

Many other similarities in theme and treatment might be pointed out which serve to show how familiar the English poet was with the style and contents of the French tragedies. We shall now consider Daniel's use of Garnier's particular drama on the subject of Antony and Cleopatra in the composition of his own play.

Both the French and the English drama begin with a monologue by Cleopatra, in which she laments her misfortunes, and this monologue and the chorus following it constitute the first act in both plays. The heroine of Daniel, like the Cleopatra of the French tragedy, compares her present state with her former greatness, and many of Garnier's expressions are echoed in her speech.

In the rest of the drama, Daniel makes no effort to keep strictly to the physical arrangement of his model, but there is a constant use of suggestions borrowed from Garnier and developed with more or less freedom. Thus Cleopatra, in the French play, speaking of the fleeting nature of felicity, says it is (627-30)

> Semblables à ces oiseaux, qui d'ailes passageres
> Arriuent au Printemps des terres estrangeres,
> Et viuent auec nous tandis que les chaleurs
> Et leur pasture y font, puis s'enuolent ailleurs.

Daniel borrows the figure, and uses it as follows (38 ff.):

> Greatnesse is mockt, prosperity betrayes us . . .
> Witnesse these gallant fortune-following traines,
> These Summer Swallowes of felicity
> Gone with the heat.

Sometimes he applies to one character an expression or description that Garnier used of another. Eufron in the French play pictures to Cleopatra the fate of her children at the hands of the Romans (1825-6),

> Leurs tendres bras liez d'vne corde execrable
> Contre leur dos foiblet.

In Daniel's tragedy, it is Cleopatra who sees herself thus treated (67-8):

That Rome should see my sceptre-bearing hands
Behind me bound, and glory in my teares.

The scene in *Marc Antoine* (1835 ff.) where the queen delivers her children to the care of their tutor, Eufron, suggests the similar one in Daniel's play (875 ff.), in which she gives her son, Cesario, to his tutor, Rodon:

Ie vous supplie, Eufron, prenez-en le souci:
Ne les souffre tomber sous iniuste puissance
De ce cruel tyran, plutost les conduisez . . .
Sur le vague Ocean à la mercy des ondes . . .
Et plutost et plutost en toutes regions.

Here, Rodon, take, conuey from out this coast,
This precious Gem, the chiefest that I haue,
This iewell of my soule I value most;
Guide him to India, leade him farre from hence,
Safeguarde him where secure he may remaine.

The choruses of the two dramas are also strikingly alike in many places, although Daniel does not attempt to cast his choruses in exactly the same metrical forms that Garnier uses. Only one illustration of their similarity need be given:

O vagueux prince des Pleuues,
Des Ethiopes l'honneur,
Il faut qu'ores tu espreuues
Le seruage d'vn Seigneur:
Que du Tybre, qui est moindre
En puissance et en renom . . . .
Il faut qu'ores tu enuoyes
De tes tributaires eaux
Par les marinieres voyes
Chaque an des presens nouueaux . . .
Pour voir vn terre estrange:
Qui fiere d'vn tel butin
En accroistra la louange
De son Empire Latin.
Rien ne te sert que tes cornes
Se vont en terre cachant.
(G. 765 ff.)

And canst O Nylus thou,
Father of flouds indure,
That yellow Tyber should
With sandy streames rule thee?
Wilt thou be pleas'd to bow
To him those feet so pure,
Whose unknowne head we hold
A powre diuine to be?
Thou that didst euer see
Thy free banks uncontrould,
Liue under thine owne cure?
Ah wilt thou beare it now?
And now wilt yeeld thy streames
A prey to other Reames?

Draw backe thy waters floe
To thy concealed head.
(D. 1702 ff.)

Some of the minor characters are also borrowed from Garnier. The philosopher, Philostratus, for instance, is taken from *Marc Antoine,* and his companion, Arius, from *Porcie.*

The history of *Cleopatra* after its first appearance in 1594 is extremely eventful and suggestive. It was much more successful than Lady Pembroke's *Antonie* or Kyd's *Cornelia.* A second edition of the tragedy came out in 1599, and a third in 1601, of which a reprint was made in 1602. Three years later, in 1605, it was again printed in the volume entitled *Certaine Small Workes Heretofore Diuulged by Samuel Daniel,* running through three more editions in the years 1607, 1609, and 1611. It was also separately printed in 1611,[19] and it appeared again in the quarto edition of 1623.

The version of 1607 is the most important of the later editions, as it presents the tragedy almost entirely recast. The preface to the new version says:[20]

[19] The 1611 version is to be found in M. Lederer's edition of *Cleopatra* (Bang's *Materialien*); it is substantially the same as that of 1607.

[20] Cf. Lederer, p. 68.

Behold once more with serious labour here
Haue I refurnisht out this little frame,
Repaird some parts defectiue here and there
And passages new added to the same,
Some rooms inlargd, made som les than they were
Like to this curious builder who this yeare
Puls downe, and alters what he did the last.

It is an interesting coincidence that Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* was probably written during the same year, 1607, in which Daniel worked over his *Cleopatra.* Certain lines in the preface above referred to indicate the existence of tragedies by other authors which were more popular than Daniel's *Cleopatra,* and a corresponding element of unfavorable criticism of his drama:[21]

Besides these curious times stuf'd with the store
Of compositions in this kind, do driue
Me to examine my defects the more,
And oft wold make me not my self belieue
Did I not know the world wherein I liue,
Which neither is so wise, as that would seeme
Nor certain iudgment of those things doth giue
That it disliks, nor that it doth esteeme.
And howsoeuer here detraction may
Disvalew this my labour, yet I know
There wilbe found therin, that which wil pay
The reckning for the errors which I owe
And likewise will sufficiently allow
T' an vndistasted iudgment fit delight
And let presumptuous selfe-opinion say
The worst it can, I know I shall haue right.

It is not possible to say with certainty that Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* was among the 'store of compositions in this kind' that led Daniel to examine the defects in his *Cleopatra,* and to alter his first version so radically. But even if he had not actually seen Shakespeare's play, he must have heard something of it. The demand for a type of drama different from the strict classical tragedy of Garnier,

[21] *Cleopatra,* ed. Lederer, p. 69.

with all its restraints and limitations, was making itself felt to such an extent that even Daniel, the chief exponent of the movement against the popular tragedy, was forced to compromise. Accordingly, the title-page of the 1607 version displayed the significant words, 'The tragedy of Cleopatra newly altred.'

The changes consist largely of additions to the original text—additions almost all of which show the influence of the romantic tragedy—and a rearrangement of the original material. It will not be necessary to delineate in this connection all the differences between the versions of 1594 and 1607.[22] The more important alterations are concerned with rearranging the scenes of the earlier version so as to bring out their dramatic values more fully, the breaking up of long monologues into dialogues, and the changing of indirect discourse into direct. Thus, the monologue of Cleopatra which opened the 1594 version of the play is removed to the second act of the revised version, which begins with a dialogue between Cleopatra and Rodon, the tutor of her son, Cesario. The second scene of Act I opens with four characters on the stage—Octavius, Proculeius, Dircetus, and Gallus—the last two of whom do not appear at all in the earlier version. The material of the second scene of the first act is new, and is taken from Act IV of Garnier's *Marc Antoine*. It describes the death of Antony. Daniel paraphrases Garnier's description rather freely throughout. In the earlier version, the fourth act ended with a long and ineffective monologue by Cleopatra, which is replaced in the 1607 edition by an effective scene showing Cesario being led away by a guard to execution.

The number of characters was limited as far as possible in the 1594 version of the play, and none of the personages concerned was allowed to speak for himself if it was possible

[22] A detailed account of all the variant readings of *Cleopatra* is given in Grosart's edition, 3. 3 ff.

to have another quote him. All this is changed in the new version, and there is consequently an influx of new people upon the stage. Eras, Charmion, Cesario, Dircetus, Diomedes, Gallus, and the guard who leads Cesario to his execution—all of whom had only been referred to or quoted indirectly in the first version—now speak for themselves. The dramatic effect of the piece is thereby greatly heightened. Even the impersonal and perfunctory nuntius is replaced by two distinct individuals, Dircetus and Diomedes.

An interesting example of the kind of change that Daniel makes in revising the play may be given. In the 1594 version, Cesario is merely reported as having made a farewell speech to his mother:

> Sweete Cesario with a princely sp'rite,
> (Though comfortlesse himself) did comfort giue;
> With mildest words, perswading her to beare it;
> And as for him she should not neede to grieue.

In the 1607 edition, the young man is allowed to speak for himself (125 ff.):

> Deare soueraigne mother, suffer not your care
> To tumult thus with th' honor of your state:
> These miseries of ours no strangers are,
> Nor is it new to be vnfortunate.
> And this good, let your many sorrowes past
> Worke on your heart t' inharden it at last. . . .
> The windes may change, & all these States opprest,
> Colleagu'd in one, may turne againe to sincke
> Their Greatnesse, who now holds them all distrest. . . .
> And therefore my deare mother doe not leaue
> To hope the best, I doubt not my returne.

Similarly, instead of the report of the nuntius to the effect that Eras and Charmion took their lives after their mistress's death, as in the 1594 version, we have in the revised version a very effective scene between the two maids of honor, in which the events are represented, and the deaths occur on the stage. The new version shows throughout a much keener sense of the dramatic. Stage-directions appear much more

frequently. The monologues which filled so many pages of the first edition are entirely cut to pieces and rearranged in the process of revision. Only once does Daniel leave a character alone on the stage (Cleopatra), and her speech on that occasion is shortened to twenty lines.

The choruses are not altered, except for slight verbal changes, in the new version. The positions of the second and third choruses are interchanged, however.

The text of the 1607 edition was followed in the editions of 1609 and 1611, and the Preface of the 1607 edition leaves no doubt that Daniel intended his revision to stand as the permanent version of his drama. He says of the revised play:[23]

> It is the building of my life, the fee
> Of nature, all th' inheritance that I
> Shall leaue to those which must come after me
> And all the care I haue is but to see
> These lodgings of m' affections neatly drest
> Wherein so many noble friends there be
> Whose memories with mine must therein rest
> And glad I am that I haue liu'd to see
> This edifice renewd, who do but long
> To liue t' amend.

But when the poet's brother, John Daniel, edited his complete works in 1623, four years after Daniel's death, the text of *Cleopatra* which he printed was not that of 1607, but substantially that of 1602, and the 1623 version has been generally accepted and quoted since that time.[24]

The success of *Cleopatra,* with the reading public at least, had by 1598, some four years after it first appeared, stimulated another poet of the day to take up his pen and join

[23] Cf. Lederer, p. 68.

[24] Daniel's *Cleopatra* has attracted the attention of a number of students and scholars. The following editions and studies may be mentioned: Lederer, *op. cit.;* Bubert, *Daniel's Cleopatra u. Philotas, u. S. Brandon's The Vertuous Octavia,* Königsberg, 1913; Müller, *Studien zur S. Daniels Tragödie Cleopatra,* Leipzig, 1914.

the forces of Lady Pembroke in their work of producing ideal tragedies. The new recruit was Samuel Brandon, a man of whom absolutely nothing is known except that he is the author of *The Tragicomœdi of the Vertuous Octavia,* and of a poetical epistle of 976 lines appended to the play, entitled *Octavia to Antonius.* Kastner[25] conjectures that 'possibly Brandon was an Irishman.'

The play is dedicated to the Lady Lucia Audlay. No contemporary mention of it can be found except in the Stationer's Register for 1598. The play was not reprinted until 1909, when it appeared in the *Malone Society Reprints.*

Brandon was certainly familiar with the works of Daniel, and it is highly probable that they were friends. Dr. J. A. Lester[26] points out that in Daniel's *Poeticall Essayes,* which were published the year after Brandon's play appeared, there is a letter sent from Octavia to Antony into Egypt. It may be that Daniel's poetical epistle was inspired by this one of Brandon's. But whatever indebtedness to Brandon Daniel may have incurred, there is abundant proof of the debt which Brandon owed to Daniel. *Octavia* is, in fact, a rather servile imitation of *Cleopatra.* Its form and general treatment are in entire conformity with the Garnier type of tragedy. Its theme has to do with the same group of persons that had already been dealt with in the Countess's *Antonie* and Daniel's *Cleopatra,* and its subject-matter, as in the case of so many other plays of our group, comes almost entirely from Plutarch.

As the two chief characters, Antony and Cleopatra, had been dealt with so generously already, the only possibility of any originality in theme revolved around Octavia, the neglected wife of Antony, and it is she whose misfortunes

[25] P. clxxvii.

[26] *Connections between the Drama of France and Great Britain* (unpublished thesis, Harvard, 1900), p. 148.

Brandon sings. There is no evidence that Brandon was actually a member of Lady Pembroke's circle, but the influence of her coterie and the works of Garnier is so patent in the drama written by Brandon that there is little doubt that he was more or less intimately connected with the group.

Some of the similarities between their plays may be pointed out. The Countess had attached to the argument of *Antonie* the statement, 'The Stage supposed Alexandria,' and Brandon, modeling his play almost in detail on the work of the members of the school, prefixes to his play the legend, 'The Stage supposed Rome.' Here and there in the argument of *Octavia* are other echoes from that of *Antonie*. Lady Pembroke writes,

> But comming in his journey into Siria, the places renewed in his remembrance the long intermitted loue of Cleopatra Queene of Aegipt.

and Brandon follows thus:

> Comming into Syria: the place renewed the memory, and the memory reuiued the long intermitted loue, he once bare to Cleopatra the Queene of Aegipt.

Similar adaptations and paraphrases are also found in the body of the play.

The time represented in *Octavia* antedates somewhat that of the events which form the chief themes of Garnier and Daniel. The plot is very simple. It consists of reports made to Octavia, by messengers from Syria, of Antony's renewed love for Cleopatra; Octavia's grief and lamentations upon hearing the reports; her complaint to her brother, Cæsar, who is later reported to have defeated Antony at Actium and Pelusium. The play has the usual complement of five acts, followed by lyrical choruses arranged in varied strophe-forms, with stichomythic dialogue, sententious maxims, and all the other earmarks of the Garnier tragedies. The following stanza from *Octavia* (Chorus IV) recalls at once the stanza-forms of Garnier's choruses:

Earth--ruling heauenly powers,
Great Ioue's immortall mates:
That from your Chrystall bowers,
Dyrect all mortal states,
  And us like Actors do dispose:
  To play what parts you list t' impose.
Must we, poore we, consent
To call you euer iust?
Though you our hearts torment
Euen after your own lust?
  And for each drop of hoped ioy:
  Powre downe whole tempests of annoy.

Brandon's choruses have perhaps a still closer kinship with those of Daniel's *Cleopatra,* as may be seen, for instance, by comparing the stanza just quoted from Brandon with the following from the third chorus of *Cleopatra:*

O Fearefull-frowning Nemesis,
  Daughter of Iustice, most seuere;
  That art the worlds great Arbitresse
  And Queene of causes raigning here:
Whose swift-sure hand is euer neere,
  Eternall iustice, righting wrong:
  Who neuer yet deferrest long
  The prouds decay, the weakes redresse:
But through thy power euery where,
  Dost raze the great, and raise the lesse.
  The lesse made great, dost ruine too,
  To shew the earth what heauen can do.

The play conforms in general to the rules of classical drama. The stage decencies are rigorously observed, and no action whatever takes place on the stage. The language is ornate, and decorated with high-sounding figures of speech and circumlocutions, the most striking of which is Brandon's elaborate way of saying 'It was evening' (212-15):

It was the time when the declining sunne
Made greatest shew of least performed light:
And by his swift departure had begun
To yeelde his interest to th' encroching night.

He uses epithets with almost all his substantives, and usually retains the same term for a particular person or object. 'Frothing,' for instance, is the term applied almost always to the ocean, and in this, as in many other cases, he follows Garnier:

> Par les flots escumeux de la mer colerée.
> (*Tro.* 934)
> L'escumeuse mer nous ecarte.
> (*Tro.* 1166)
> Wherewith the froathing Ocean he scoures.
> (*Oct.* 1807)

Echoes from Daniel's *Cleopatra* appear here and there in the play, in such instances as the following:

> Draw backe thy waters floe
> To thy concealed head.
> (*Cleop.* 1716-7)
> Hast back then Tyber to thy fountaines head.
> (*Oct.* 664)

Like Daniel's play, *Octavia* is written largely in rhymed quatrains. Brandon's verse is harmonious and fluent, if not distinguished. He is much given to alliteration and antithesis. It is not uncommon to find such passages as (2130-31)

> O failing piller of my falling state!
> O fading flower of vertues fairest field!

A discussion of Brandon's diction and style, as related to that of Garnier, is reserved for the general discussion of Garnier's influence on the English dramatists, in the latter part of this chapter.

There is a very noticeable difference between the dramas written before 1600 and those written after that date by the adherents of Garnier in England. Lady Pembroke's *Antonie,* Kyd's *Cornelia,* Daniel's *Cleopatra,* and Brandon's *Octavia* belong to the group written before the turn of the century. Their subjects are all drawn from the same common source, Plutarch's *Lives,* and, with the exception of

Cornelia, they have to do with some phase or other of the story of Antony and Cleopatra. These four plays are marked by their predominantly lyrical and elegiac qualities, which are likewise Garnier's most characteristic traits. Their interest is primarily emotional, and while they are not 'family dramas' in the sense that Seneca's dramas are, their plots are concerned chiefly with the misfortunes of individuals, and only indirectly with the fate of states and empires.

The plays of Fulke Greville and of Sir William Alexander, and the *Philotas* of Daniel, written after 1600, are not less a part of the general movement which we are studying than the earlier plays; but they have important differences, which arise largely from placing emphasis on certain qualities of Garnier not stressed in the early plays, and paying less attention to his purely lyrical accomplishments. For Garnier, as we have seen already, was not only a lyricist. He was a lawyer, a magistrate, a member of the king's council, and an earnest seeker after reforms in state and civil life. He was a philosopher, a poet, and a prophet withal. His plays, as we have observed, are full of didactic passages, copious moralizing, sententious observations on the conduct of life in general, and on the affairs of kings and governments in particular. We have seen, too, that he was fond of abstractions, and of deducing from a concrete situation its abstract causes and aspects. Very often the themes of his choruses are such abstract qualities as Ambition, Love, Civil Hatred, Immortality, etc.

It was this other side of Garnier, then, that appealed to such men as Alexander and Greville. Personally they had much in common with him. They were politicians and statesmen, holding high offices under their king. Garnier, we know, did not consider the writing of drama as his chief calling—'ce n'est ma particulière profession,' he tells M. de Cheverny in his dedication of *Bradamante*—and we have a similar statement from Greville in his *Life of Sidney,* to the

effect that his dramatic compositions represent an avocation rather than a vocation. He writes:[27]

> So that to saile by his [Sidney's] compasse, was shortly—as I said—one of the principall reasons I can alleage, which perswaded me to steale minutes of time from my daily services, and employ them in theis kind of writeings.

Garnier's intentions, both implied and expressed, of clarifying the troubled situation in France by writing dramas which would make the people think about the seriousness of conditions, find their counterpart in Greville and Alexander. Greville, who is nothing if not a reformer, and an instructor of others in the way they should go, gives us quite frankly his reasons for writing his tragedies:[28]

> My purpose in them was . . . to trace out the high waies of ambitious governours, and to shew in the practise of life that the more audacity, advantage and good successe such soveraignties have, the more they hasten to their owne desolation and ruine.

Alexander's four tragedies are so taken up with the same themes—the high ways and destinies of ambitious governors—that they were given the title, the *Monarchicke Tragedies*. Daniel's *Philotas* is another treatise on the dangers to which an overweening ambition will lead those in power, ending with the warning:

> But if this Hydra of ambition shall
> Haue other heads to spring up in his steed,
> Then hath he made but way for them to rise,
> Who wili assault him with fresh treacheries.
> The which may teach vs to obserue this straine,
> To admire high hill's, but liue within the plaine.

The most important difference, then, between the tragedies written by the English school of Garnier before 1600 and those written after that date, is the preoccupation of the

[27] Greville's *Works*, ed. Grosart, 4. 150.
[28] *Life of Sidney*, p. 220.

later group of writers with the political, patriotic, moral, and more purely intellectual elements in Garnier's tragedies. Garnier had the rare ability to hold the reins of both the intellectual and the emotional processes in his hand at the same time. He could treat abstract subjects of philosophy, and concrete problems of statesmanship, and social relations, in as lyrical and poetical a manner as he could sing of love and of the rising sun. But it was not so with Greville and Alexander and the Daniel of 1605. They could and did imitate the matter of his plays, but his manner eluded them. The ponderous intellect of Greville had no real appreciation of the delicate lyrical mood of the French tragedian, and Alexander's stout Caledonian muse was obviously of a different clan from that of the Gallic muse that Garnier wooed.

Another difference between the earlier and the later plays of the group has to do with the verse of the tragedies. The translations of Lady Pembroke and Kyd are in blank verse, while Daniel's *Cleopatra* and Brandon's *Octavia* are in rhymed quatrains. Alexander and the author of *Mariam* follow this latter form, but Greville's two dramas and Daniel's *Philotas* have very peculiar verse-forms. The prosody is entirely irregular, and many lines are unrhymed. The verse of these three plays is like an unstable chemical compound, breaking down continually into other forms. It ranges from blank verse to rhymed couplets and quatrains, with many lines of eleven and twelve syllables.[29]

Another distinction between the plays written before 1600 and those which came after this date from the pens of our group of authors has been suggested by Lester, Upham, and others, and has to do with the number of characters employed. Such a distinction does not, however, seem important, and indeed is hardly supported by the facts. The only distinction with respect to characters that can be drawn with

[29] An analysis of Greville's verse has been made by Croll in his dissertation, *The Works of Fulke Greville,* Philadelphia, 1903.

accuracy is that between the practice of the popular dramas and these twelve which were inspired by French models. In the popular plays a much larger number of characters is employed, as a rule, than in any of our plays. Heywood's *Brazen Age,* for example, has some thirty-eight persons of prime importance, besides numerous minor people. The same author's *Silver Age* lists thirty-two principal characters, besides a complement of Furies, seven Planets, six Centaurs, two captains, a guard, Theban Ladies, and servants.[30] On the other hand, the tragedies of Garnier and his English followers have a very much smaller number of characters. *Cornélie* has only seven principal characters, and *Porcie* only eight. *La Troade* has twelve, and *Marc Antoine,* thirteen. Of the English plays of this type, *Philotas* has some sixteen principal characters, the largest number of all; *Darius,* fourteen; *Octavia,* thirteen; the 1607 version of *Cleopatra,* thirteen; *The Alexandræan Tragedy,* fourteen. Of Greville's two plays, *Mustapha* has only eight characters, and *Alaham,* only ten. Alexander's *Julius Cæsar* has also only ten, and his *Crœsus* only nine. Upham's statement,[31] to the effect that all the English tragedies which are based on French models, 'with the exception of Fulke Greville's poem tragedies, follow Seneca in never exceeding ten,' is, therefore, misleading.

In discussing the individual dramas of this later group of Garnier's followers, we shall first take up the two tragedies of Greville, *Alaham* and *Mustapha.* Greville was one of the most intimate friends of Sir Philip Sidney, and from their early days together the art of versifying was among their common interests. Sidney celebrates his friendship with 'his two worthy Friends and fellow-Poets, Sir Edward Dier, and Maister Fulke Greville,' in a pastoral first published in Davidson's *Poetical Rhapsody,* 1602:

[30] Cf. J. Q. Adams, 'Shakespeare, Heywood, and the Classics,' *Mod. Lang. Notes* 34. 336 ff.

[31] *Op. cit.,* p. 78.

Ioyne Mates in mirth with me
Graunt pleasure to our meeting:
Let Pan our good God see,
How gratefull is our greeting.
Ioyne hearts and hands, so let it be,
Make but one Minde in Bodies three.

Another pastoral by Sidney, entitled *Disprayse of a Courtly Life,* also has lines in celebration of the triple friendship.[32]

From the intimacy of Sidney and Greville, we may safely assume that Greville shared his friend's views about poetry and the drama. There is no evidence that after Sidney's death Greville became a recognized member of the circle presided over by Sidney's sister, and it is certain that even if he had been a member of the coterie, his independent spirit would not have allowed him to revolve around the Countess as a literary centre in the same fashion that Daniel used. But there is little doubt that Greville, as a close friend of the Sidney family, and of Samuel Daniel and others of the coterie, was well acquainted with the ideas and plans of the Countess, and, either through her circle or independently, he came into contact with the influence of Garnier.

Daniel, in 1599, dedicated his *Musophilus* to Greville, and it is altogether probable, though not demonstrable, that Greville is also the 'learned gentleman' referred to in Daniel's preface to his *Defence of Ryme,* 1607, when he says:[33]

Worthy Gentlemen, about a yeere since upon the great reproach giuen to the Professours of Ryme, and the vse thereof, I wrote a priuate Letter, as a defence of mine own vndertakings in that kinde, to a learned gentleman, a great friend of mine, then in Court. Which I did rather to confirme my selfe in mine owne courses, and to holde him from being wonne from vs, than with any desire to publish the same to the world.

There is good reason, then, for considering Greville one in spirit, at least, with the coterie of Lady Pembroke; and his

[32] Both pastorals are quoted in Greville's *Works,* ed. Grosart, 4. 225 ff.

[33] P. 33.

plays, as we shall see presently, require attention in any discussion of the English dramas influenced by Robert Garnier.

Two other suggestive pieces of information are gained from a paragraph in Greville's *Life of Sidney*.[34]

> Lastly, concerning the Tragedies themselves: they were in their first creation three; Whereof Antonie and Cleopatra, according to their irregular passions, in forsaking empire to follow sensuality, were sacrificed in the fire. The executioner, the author himselfe. Not that he conceived it to be a contemptible younger brother to the rest: but lest while he seemed to looke over-much upward, hee might stumble into the astronomer's pit. Many members in that creature—by the opinion of those few eyes which saw it—having some childish wantonnesse in them, apt enough to be construed or strained to a personating of vices in the present governors and government.

The fact that Greville was the author of a tragedy on the subject of Antony and Cleopatra at once suggests a connection with the Garnier-Pembroke group, whose members were infatuated with that theme. And his phrase, 'by the opinion of those few eyes, which saw it,' suggests likewise the existence of a circle of friends with whom the author was in sympathy, to whom he was accustomed to show his writings, and whose opinions he valued. It is hardly likely that there would have been a coterie of friends more congenial to Greville's tastes, and with more claims on his time and attention, than that headed by the sister of his best friend, Sir Philip Sidney. Again, the fact that he destroyed his tragedy on the theme of Antony and Cleopatra because of certain resemblances in its plot to the circumstances attending the fall of Essex, suggests that he was aware of the general attitude toward Daniel's *Philotas,* which drew upon the head of its author much hostile criticism.[35]

The first authorized edition of Greville's works was the folio of 1633, but a single quarto edition of *Mustapha* is

[34] Pp. 155-6.
[35] See below, p. 128.

known to have been surreptitiously printed in 1609. Both of the tragedies, however, were without doubt written much earlier. Greville's reference to Sidney as having encouraged him in his younger years 'to steale minutes' for 'theis kind of writeings' has already been mentioned. Greville adds in this connection,[36]

> Since my declining age, it is true that I had—for some yeeres—more leasure to discover their imperfections, then care, or industry to amend them.

Croll,[37] on the basis of such indirect and circumstantial evidence as is available, fixes the date of *Alaham* as about 1601, and that of *Mustapha* around 1605. Kastner[38] would put both of the plays after 1604.

No immediate dramatic sources of the two plays are known, and no source of any kind has been found for *Alaham*. Lester[39] thinks that the source of the plot of *Mustapha* is the twelfth book of Jacques-Auguste de Thou's *Historiæ sui Temporis,* the first part of which appeared in 1604. Croll[40] suggests another possible source in the *De Turcarum Moribus* of Bartholomæus Georgievitz, which was translated by H. Goughe, in 1570, as *The Offspring of the House of the Ottomans.* The reasons given for accepting these works as sources are not very convincing, since they rest mainly on the fact that they contain names somewhat similar to those of the characters in Greville's drama. The question of the immediate or the ultimate sources of the two plays need not detain us here, however, as their plots have nothing to do with the dramas of Garnier, or of any of the English plays in the group we are studying. It may be said in passing that the scenes of the plays are laid in the Orient; that of *Alaham* on the island of Ormus in the

[36] *Life of Sidney,* p. 150.
[37] Pp. 3 ff.
[38] P. clxxx.
[39] Pp. 160 ff.
[40] P. 37.

Persian Gulf, and that of *Mustapha* in the Ottoman Empire, presumably in the reign of Solyman the Great, 1520-1566. The theme of both plays is the uncertainty that attends on royalty, and each has to do with intrigues and plots to put those in power, or those likely to succeed to the throne, to death. In the one play, Alaham conspires against his father, the king, and his elder brother, the heir apparent. In the other, the Sultan Soliman slays his son, Mustapha, as the result of the intrigues of his wife, Rossa, in favor of her son, Zanger. The theme of the two plays is summed up in the saying of Saturn in *Mustapha,*

> A fatall winding sheet succession is.

The two dramas conform generally to the classical rules of composition. They have externally the characteristics of the Garnier type of drama, with the exception of the lyrical choruses. The choruses of *Alaham* and *Mustapha,* though non-lyrical, do show, however, much variety of verse-forms in the manner of the Garnier plays. Some of them are stanzaic, others without division. The verse employed in them ranges from six-syllabled and eight-syllabled lines, as in the fourth chorus of *Mustapha,* to ten-, twelve-, and fourteen-syllabled lines in other choruses. Greville considered the choruses the most important parts of the tragedies. In them he developed at length his philosophy, and tried to drive home his lessons to the mind of the reader. The various scenes of the dramas are but concrete illustrations of the more or less abstract truths set forth in the choruses. Indeed, the choruses were conceived in the mind of the author before the rest of the tragedies had been thought out. His original choruses soon outgrew the scope for which they were intended, and they were published separately as *Treatises on Monarchy and Religion,* and other smaller 'treatises' were inserted as choruses in their place. Of the connection in his own mind between his treatises and his tragedies he does not leave us in doubt. In his *Life of*

Sidney, which furnishes us so many details of the author's own life and works, he writes:[41]

> The workes—as you see—are Tragedies, with some Treatises annexed. The Treatises—to speake truly of them—were first intended to be for every act a chorus: and though not borne out of the present matter acted, yet being the largest subject, I could then think upon, and no such strangers to the scope of the Tragedies, but that a favorable reader might easily find some consanguinitie between them.

Although Garnier furnished nothing of the subject-matter of these two tragedies, there are many passages in them which recall portions of his plays. *Alaham,* for example, begins with a prologue spoken by the ghost of one of the old kings of Ormus, strikingly like the prologue of the fury Megæra in *Porcie,* and that of the ghost of Aegeus in *Hippolyte.* Many of the moral and didactic sentiments scattered through Greville's plays also bear a close resemblance to Garnier's sentences, and other similarities abound:

> Et le foudre est souuent aux places
> Qui se montagnent plus le front.
> (*Por.* 173-4)

> Or thunder-blasts that comming from the skie,
> Doe fall most heavy on the places high.
> (*Mustapha* 2. 1. 6-7)

> Les Dieux tout cognoissans ont predit nos desastres
> Par signes en la terre, et par signes aux astres,
> Qui nous deuoyent mouuoir, si la Fatalité
> N'eust, indomtable, ourdy nostre calamité.
> Les Cometes flambans par le trauers des nues,
> A grands rayons de feu, comme tresses crinues, . . .
> Le sang tombant du ciel en pluyes incognues, . . .
> Ainsi sous la merci des ennemis nous sommes,
> Et nous faut desormais suiure les volontez
> Et les loix de celuy qui nous a surmontez.
> (*M. A.* 297 ff.)

[41] P. 150.

Besides, if fates be past, what meanes this starre,
Whose glorious taile threatens vnglorious dayes,
Feare vnto kings, and to the State a warre?
What meane these bloody showers? These darkned rayes
Of sunne and moone, which still eclipsed are?
Are all signes chance? For if the starres can worke,
These signes that threaten, proue their bodies lurke.
What added is in honor to the crowne,
Or what increase of empire to the king;
That exiles are call'd home to put me downe?
Strange innouation some increase should bring.
(*Alaham* I. 2. 22).

Greville's tragedies are extremely difficult to read, because of the abstract nature of the subjects treated. They are probably the most obscure and abstruse dramas in the language, and have thus repelled students in general. They are usually dismissed as being 'consumedly dull,' or are mentioned in the most general terms. Thus Miss Luce, in her edition of Lady Pembroke's *Antonie,*[42] sums them up as 'oriental tales treated in the strictest pseudo-classic style, with a careful observance of the unities and stage decencies.' They are not oriental tales, and their style is not of the strictest pseudo-classic type. Much more than the classic one-day period elapses between the first act and the last of both plays, and as for the stage decencies, Hala, in *Alaham,* kills her child on the stage. Symonds[43] characterizes them as 'oriental fables,' and Ward[44] says 'they seem to have been derived from an episode of French romance.' But Lester[45] has shown conclusively that, whatever else they may be, they are not fables or romances, either French or Oriental.

At times the plays cease to have any connection with flesh and blood, as when the choruses are composed of Time and Eternity, Good and Evil Spirits, Furies and Vices. The

[42] P. 49.
[43] *Shakespeare's Predecessors,* p. 222.
[44] *History of English Dramatic Literature* 2. 216, n.
[45] Pp. 239 ff.

dramas are extremely involved, concentrated, and weighted with thought. They well deserve the description[46] of Richard Flecknoe,

> Food for strong minds! whilst of your lighter stuff
> The weaker find in other books enough.

They were written with no thought of representation,[47] and have thus another link in common with the plays of Garnier and of the members of Lady Pembroke's circle. They are simply closet-dramas, poem-plays, meant only to be read, and the author (in his *Life of Sidney,* p. 223) says of them:

> If in thus ordaining and ordering matter and forme together for the use of life, I have made theis Tragedies no plaies for the stage; be it known, it was no part of my purpose to write for them, against whom so many good and great spirits have already written.
>
> But he that will behold these acts upon their true stage, let him look on that stage wherein himself is an actor, even the state he lives in, and for every part he may perchance find a player, and for every line—it may be—an instance of life.

In 1605, the year in which *Mustapha* was probably written, Samuel Daniel published his second drama, *The Tragedy of Philotas.* The material of the plot is taken largely from Plutarch's life of Alexander, and supplemented by a few incidents from Quintus Curtius. (Daniel, like Garnier, usually gives the reader his general sources.) The theme of the drama is the conspiracy of Philotas, a young noble and favorite of Alexander, against his lord; the discovery of the treason; Philotas's denial of it; his subsequent torture, confession, and death. It is, like the plays of Greville and Alexander, a drama dealing with political subjects, especially the intrigues of court life, and the general misfortunes that beset those who sit in the seats of the mighty.

[46] Cf. *Epigram on the Works of Fulke Grevil Lord Brook,* quoted by Grosart, Greville's *Works* 3. 293.

[47] Schmidt-Wartenberg, p. 10, n., quotes Chappuzeau, *Le Théâtre Français,* p. 50, to the effect that Greville's two plays were still 'represented' in 1668. It is difficult to understand just what this 'representation' could have been.

Philotas has more in common with the 1607 version of *Cleopatra,* so far as its form and arrangement are concerned, than with the 1594 version of that tragedy. There are no monologues, and the speeches are much shorter than is customary in the Garnier plays. The number of characters is greater than that of any of the other plays in our group. The stage-directions provide for a full stage at times, as in the second scene of Act IV—'Alexander, with all his Councell, the dead body of Dymnus, the Revealers of the Conspiracy, Philotas.' This increase in theatrical effectiveness is the chief difference between *Philotas* and *Cleopatra.* The conspirator Dymnus falls dead on the stage in Act III, adding to the general effect. The torture and death of Philotas, in the fifth act, are, however, reported by a nuntius as in the other plays of the group. The unity of time is disregarded to a greater extent than in any of the other plays in our study. In Act I, Ceballinus informs Philotas of the plot against Alexander's life, of which he has just learned, and in Act III, in response to Alexander's question as to how long it had been since he first heard of the plot, Ceballinus replies,

> About some three dayes, my sovereigne Lord.

Along with the increased dramatic effect of the play, there is a notable decrease in the attention given to the lyrical element of the drama. The choruses occupy only about 17% of the extent of the play,[48] while in *Marc Antoine* about 25% of the tragedy is given to the chorus, and in Daniel's earlier tragedy, *Cleopatra,* the chorus takes up 20% of the whole. In the first three choruses of *Philotas,* the author retains to some extent the stanzaic effect of the Garnier chorus, but the last two choruses are not arranged in stanza-form.

Philotas was entirely unsuccessful, partly on account of the inherent weakness of the type of drama to which it con-

[48] Upham, p. 81, is in error in saying that the choruses in *Philotas* occupy only one-sixteenth of the tragedy. Perhaps he means 16%.

formed, and partly because its plot resembled in certain details some of the events connected with the treason of the Earl of Essex, for which he was put to death in 1601. The attack on *Philotas* drew forth an apology from Daniel, in which he disclaimed any reference whatever to the case of Essex, but the explanation was not convincing, and the play was not resuscitated.

The four *Monarchicke Tragedies* of Sir William Alexander belong to the same group as Philotas and the two tragedies of Fulke Greville. They have many of the qualities of *Alaham* and *Mustapha*. We have seen with what assiduity Greville set himself the task of tracing out 'the high waies of ambitious governours'; and the Scottish author of *Crœsus, Darius, The Alexandrœan Tragedy,* and *Julius Cæsar,* was imbued with much the same purpose. The plays of both authors belong to that type of intellectual and philosophical drama in which the characters are no longer men and women interesting in and for themselves, but rather types and impersonations of virtues and vices, or illustrations of the disastrous effects of following some wrong line of conduct. Alexander was not unaware of their defects from an artistic standpoint, but he felt that the moral lessons and sound doctrine which they contained would outweigh their demerits. As he tells the reader in the preface to the 1603 edition of *Darius,*

> The imperfection of the worke is supplied with the worthinesse of the matter, and with an earnest desire of procuring thereby thy profit and delite.

Alexander was less closely connected with the circle of Lady Pembroke than any of the other writers we have been studying. It is well-nigh certain that he was not a member of the coterie, but there is little doubt that he was familiar with the works of its members, and he may have been on more or less intimate terms of friendship with some of the members of the group. He admired Sidney's writings very much, and wrote a supplement for the chasm in Book III

of the *Arcadia* which was occasioned 'by the loss of some of the Author's invaluable papers.'[49] It is altogether likely that after he came to England in the wake of his royal master, James I, he paid his respects to Sidney's sister, and was in general touch with her ideas. Whatever his relations with the Sidney circle may have been, he had certainly, before reaching England, come under the influence of French writers of tragedy, among them Garnier, and thus we must include, in any consideration of Garnier's influence on English drama, a study of the tragedies of Sir William Alexander.

Alexander was a gentleman of Prince Henry's bedchamber, and held other important positions in the court. There was every reason, then, that a gentleman of his standing, with his taste for poetry and the drama, should have met and become a friend of Lord Brooke, himself a high official, with tastes similar to Alexander's. It is also quite possible that it was through Lord Brooke that Alexander was introduced to the circle at Wilton. One of the members of the Countess's group, at least, was acquainted with Alexander, for Samuel Daniel, in dedicating his Philotas to the prince in 1605, refers to Alexander, apologizing for his presumption in putting himself under the prince's patronage, when the Scottish poet was already an accepted favorite with the prince. Daniel says of Alexander:[50]

> you have a Swannet of your owne,
> Within the bankes of Douen meditates
> Sweet notes to you, and vnto your renowne
> The glory of his music dedicates,
> And in a lofty tune is set to sound
> The deepe reports of sullen Tragedies.

If the tragedies of a Scottish dramatist had succeeded in gaining the notice of a literary circle in southern England,

[49] *Cf. The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, by Sir Philip Sidney: with the additions of Sir William Alexander and Richard Beling,* ed. Baker, pp. 428-451.

[50] *Works* 3. 101.

it is surely unlikely that the works of that circle had not become known in dramatic and literary circles in the Scottish capital.

But if other evidence that Alexander was familiar with the tragedies of Daniel, and perhaps other members of the group, were wanting, the tragedies of the Scottish poet would speak for themselves to that effect. They contain, indeed, a great number of passages which have been developed from suggestions in Daniel's plays. Some of the more striking examples of the manner in which Alexander used suggestions borrowed from Daniel may be cited here. The opening stanza of the third chorus in *Crœsus* is very obviously inspired by the final stanza of the fifth chorus in Daniel's *Cleopatra,* as a comparison of the two passages will show:

O then all-seeing light,
High President of Heauen,
You Magistrates, the Starres
Of that eternall Court
Of Prouidence and Right,
Are these the bounds y' haue giuen
Th' vntranspassable barres,
That limit Pride so short?
Is greatnesse of this sort,
That greatnesse greatnesse marres,
And wrackes itselfe, selfe-driuen
On Rockes of her owne might?
Doth Order order so
Disorders ouerthrow?
(*Cleop.* 1758 ff.)

Those who command above,
High presidents of Heaven,
By whom all things doe move,
As they have order given,
What wordling can arise,
Against them to repine?
Whilst castell'd in the skies,
With providence divine;
They force this peopled round,

Their judgments to confesse,
And in their wrath confound
Proud mortals who transgresse
The bounds to them assign'd
By Nature in their mind.
(*Cræsus* 1305 ff.)

Other cases of parallelism from the different plays may be cited:

Is there behind yet something of distresse
Vnseene, vnknowne? Tell if that greater misery
There be, that we waile not that which is lesse.
Tell vs what so it be, and tell at first,
For sorrow euer longs to heare her worst.
(*Cleop.* 1404 ff.)

Is't death, disgrace, destruction, treason, losse?
Telle on the summe of horrour at the first:
With no ambiguous words my paine prolong:
A wretch for comfort craves to know the worst.
(*Darius* 1166 ff.)

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yet Princes in this case
Doe hate the Traitor, though they loue the treason.
(*Cleop.* 848-9)

Each Prince (though using them) all traitours hates.
(*Dar.* 1320)

Parmenio without Alexander much hath wrought,
Without Parmenio, Alexander hath done nought.
(*Philotas* 324-5)

And first, Parmenio without whom I nought
But who did many great things without me.
(*Alex. Trag.* 243-4)

The situation in Daniel's *Cleopatra,* where Dolabella praises Cleopatra's beauty, and Cæsar taunts him with having fallen in love with the queen, is taken over by Alexander, and given to Alexander and Hephestion. In Daniel's tragedy, Cæsar replies:

What in a passion Dolabella? what? take heed:
Let others fresh examples be thy warning;
What mischiefes these so idle humours breed,
Whilst error keepes vs from a true discerning.
Indeed I saw she labour'd to impart
Her sweetest graces in her saddest cheere:
Presuming on the face that knew the arte
To moue, with what aspect so eu'r it were.
(*Cleop.* 731 ff.)

To Hephestion's remarks of a similar nature to Dolabella's, Alexander answers:

What, what, Hephestion, what doth thee deceive?
Dare folly seeke to bragge so brave a minde?
Dare Cupid enter in an armed camp,
And them who Mars have match'd for sport appall?
Must his soft seale even through hard metall stamp,
And make who conquer men, to women thrall?
(*Dar.* 919 ff.)

The scene in *Cleopatra* in which Cleopatra delivers her son to Rodon, to be taken away to safety, seems to have suggested the similar scene in *Darius,* in which Statira sends her infant son away for protection:

Then take him Rodon, goe my sonne, farewell,
But stay: there's something else that I would say:
Yet nothing now. But O God speed thee well,
Lest saying more, that more may make thee stay.
Yet let me speake: It may be tis the last
That euer I shall speake to thee my sonne.
Doe Mothers vse to part in such post hast?
(*Cleop.* 952 ff.)

Go beare this Babe from hence, a wound too deep
Hath pierced me with compassion of his part.
Yet let him stay, I joy to heare him weep;
This mothers passion melts my bursting heart;
Of many woes this last is not the least,
That unbegun thy glory thus must end.
(*Dar.* 739 ff.)

With all this evidence of Alexander's familiarity with the works of Daniel, we may reasonably assume that the Scottish

tragedian would make an effort to further his acquaintance with Daniel himself, and with his fellow-members of the coterie at Wilton.

Some collateral information relative to the extent to which Scottish writers and readers were familiar with English and French literary and dramatic works, is gained from the list of books read between the years 1606 and 1614 by William Drummond of Hawthornden. Of the large number listed, the following items may be mentioned as having particular interest in this connection:

Deux Tragedies de Jodelle, Hymnes de Ronsard, the works of Du Bartas, Scaliger's Poetices, Daniel's Works, Spenser's Faerie Queene, Menstrie's (Sir William Alexander's) Works.

Another list, of books possessed by him in 1611, was made by Drummond, and it contains among some fifty English works Lady Pembroke's translation of Garnier's *Marc Antoine*.[51] These lists indicate something of the extent to which both French and English works and influence had penetrated literary circles in Scotland. Drummond and Alexander were bosom friends, and warm admirers of each other's literary efforts, and we may be sure that such books as Lady Pembroke's *Antonie,* which were on the shelves of Drummond's library, were not unknown to his friend Alexander. It may be said just here that, as for the French influence on Alexander and other Scottish poets of his day, it was likely to have been even stronger than it was on English writers, since the connections between Edinburgh and Paris were much more numerous and effective than between London and the French capital.[52] An interesting

[51] Both lists are to be found, together with many commendatory verses exchanged between Drummond and Alexander, in *Archæologia Scotica* 4. 73 ff.

[52] The great popularity of French literature among educated men in Scotland is attested by the lists of books in the library of James. Cf. *The Library of James VI of Scotland,* ed. Warner, Edinburgh, 1893.

example of the very close acquaintance which Scottish authors maintained with literary circles and events in France, is the fact that Drummond, in a letter dated at Paris on February 12, 1607, tells Sir George Keith of the *Astrée* of Honoré d'Urfé, several years before its publication.[53]

As the four tragedies of Alexander[54] have the same general form, themes, and stylistic qualities as the plays of Garnier and those of Lady Pembroke's school, it will not be necessary to mention them in detail again. They are the most uniform and regular of all the English plays modeled on the Garnier pattern. The first act in each of them follows the plan of the early group of Garnier's tragedies, containing only a long monologue and a chorus. The development of the play by means of declamations, dialogues, and soliloquies occupies the three middle acts, and the fifth act contains the messenger's report of the catastrophe, and the final chorus. There is, of course, no action on the stage, and not more than five characters ever appear on the stage at one time.[55] The stage decencies are observed rigorously except possibly in the case of *Crœsus,* in which the hero of that name dies, presumably, at the close of his soliloquy in Act V.

The ultimate sources of the material of the tragedies are the never-failing storehouses for all the French and English tragedians of the time—Plutarch, Quintus Curtius, and Herodotus. From Plutarch's *Life of Solon* and Herodotus's history comes the basic material of *Crœsus.* The plot of the drama is the story of the disasters which befell the

[53] Drummond, *Works,* Edinburgh, 1711, p. 141.

[54] The standard edition of Alexander's works is that of Kastner and Charlton, Volume 1 of which was published in 1921.

[55] H. Beumelburg, in a thesis, *Sir William Alexander, Graf von Stirling, als Dramatischer Dichter,* p. 31, is incorrect in saying that Alexander never uses more than three characters in a scene. Act II, Scene 1 of *The Alexandræan Tragedy,* and Act IV, Scene 2 of *Darius,* both contain five characters. Other scenes of the plays have four.

wealthy king of Lydia in spite of his possessions, the death of his son, and the loss of his kingdom to Cyrus.

The story of *Darius* is taken almost entirely from the history of Alexander the Great by Quintus Curtius Rufus, which had also given Daniel part of the material for his *Philotas*. The drama is a rhetorical and declamatory expansion of the Scriptural text, 'Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall.' It deals with the outrageous haughtiness of Darius the Great, which leads him to challenge Alexander, and brings on his own ignominious downfall.

The Alexandræan Tragedy[56] is not less didactic in nature. It portrays the destruction of Alexander the Great through his being 'drunk with the delights of an extraordinary prosperity,' and the 'multitude of murthers' which ensued among his ambitious generals after his death. The material for the plot is gathered here and there from the various histories which deal with the life of Alexander.

In *Julius Cæsar,* likewise, the author endeavors to paint the evil results of unwise ambition. He emphasizes Rome's 'unsatiable ambition to subdue all nations,' and depicts Cæsar as being 'drunke with a delighte of soveraignty,' and thus brought to his death. Since *Julius Cæsar* is the only one of the *Monarchicke Tragedies* which seems to have been based to any extent on a previous drama on a similar subject, and since it shows many traces of the influence of Garnier's dramas, it is the one of Alexander's tragedies which chiefly concerns us in this study. It may be said in passing that Lester, Kastner, and Charlton have spent much time in searching for some immediate dramatic prototype for each of Alexander's tragedies, but only in the case of *Julius Cæsar,* which pretty largely speaks for itself, is there any real evidence of such influence to be found. No earlier dramatization of the subject of *Crœsus* is known, and as for

[56] Both Fleay (*Biog. Chron. of the Eng. Drama* 1. 23) and Grosart (article on Alexander in *D. N. B.*) erroneously call this tragedy, ***The Alexandrean.***

The Alexandræan Tragedy, although there is a drama by Jacques de la Taille called *Alexandre,* published in 1573, it has nothing in common with the English play. The *Darius* of Alexander suggests at once the *Daire* of La Taille, published the year before his *Alexandre,* but Professor Kastner has shown[57] that, whereas the main body of the story is naturally the same in both dramas, the Scottish dramatist develops his material in a manner altogether different from that of the French writer.

Lester, in his unpublished dissertation already referred to,[58] points out what are to him sufficiently strong proofs of Alexander's indebtedness to Grévin's *César* as a general model for his drama on the subject, but Kastner and Charlton take the opposite view, and conclude that Grévin's play, as well as Pescetti's *Il Cesare,* 1594, was unknown to Alexander. The question of Alexander's indebtedness to Grévin or others is outside our province in this study. What is very obvious, however, to any one studying *Julius Cæsar* in connection with Garnier's works, is the free use Alexander has made of the latter—particularly the *Cornélie*—and we shall confine our attention here to the evidences of Garnier's influence on the subject-matter of Alexander's play.

The opening monologue by Juno in Alexander's *Julius Cæsar* contains unmistakable echoes from the prologue of Megæra in *Porcie,* and that of Cicero in *Cornélie.* Megæra recounts Rome's misdeeds, and pronounces curses against the city in quite the same tone adopted by Juno in her tirade against Cæsar. Rome, says Megæra, has grown so powerful that even Jupiter fears her (95-6):

> Il ha peur pour soymesme, il ha peur que tes bras
> De son throne echelé ne le iettent à bas.

Juno, who has watched his deeds and prowess, has a similar fear of Cæsar,

[57] P. clxxxvi.
[58] See above, p. 112.

Who may (if forcing thus the worlds chiefe Forts)
More powerfull than the Titans, scale the skies.

Both must adopt measures of repelling the audacious one. Megæra says (97 ff.):

Mais pource qu'en terre il [Jupiter] ne se trouue race,
Qui se hasarde plus d'affronter ton audace, . . .
Il faut pour orager ta puissance supréme,
Emprunter les efforts de ta puissance mesme.

Juno's plan is somewhat similar:

Yet lest he thrall him too, who none free leaves,
We from the bounds above him must repell. . . .
What? with that Tyrant I will straight be even, . . .
I'le raise up some in th' earth to haste his death.

Megæra's epithet for the Romans, 'ceste race de Mars,' is taken up by Juno as 'that bastard brood of Mars,' and the goddess's description of the bloody field of Troy recalls Megæra's battle-song:

Faites dessus la plaine ondoyer vostre sang,
Coulant à gros bouillons de vostre noble flanc,
Et que des corps meurtris vne pile dressée
Laisse éternellement la campagne bossée.
Qu'il ne se trouue place exempte de tombeaux,
Qu'il ne se trouue mer qui n'empourpre ses eaux
De vostre sang mutin.
(*Por.* 115 ff.)

Whilst Simois seem'd to be a buriall field,
Whose streams (as streets) were with dead bodies pav'd
All Zanthus Plaine (as turn'd a Sea) did yeeld
A floud of bloud, from Heroes wounds receiv'd.
(*J. C.* 85-8)

Cicero, in the opening monologue of *Cornélie,* reviewing Rome's history, furnishes the goddess with further material for her arraignment of the city and Cæsar:

Nos peres t'ont trouuée au pied des premiers murs,
Et mourant delaissée à leurs nepueux futurs,
Tu souillas nostre ville encore toute nouuelle,
Du sang rouge espandu par la main fraternelle.
(*Cor.* 27-30)

Yet of that City there can come no good,
Whose rising walls with more than barbarous rage,
The builder first bath'd with his brothers bloud,
Which their prodigious conquests did presage.
(*J. C.* 137-40)

Nous auons ces iours veu le Gendre et le Beau-pere
Se combattre ennemis, Pharsalique misere: . . .
La ciuile fureur, plus que tous redoutable,
A presque renuersé ceste ville indomtable . . .
Qui sinon par les dieux ne sçauroit estre esteinte,
A qui rien que les dieux ne sçauroit donner crainte,
Immortelle, immuable, et dont l'Empire fort
Ne peut estre atterré que de son propre effort:
Qui ny les blons Germains, peuple enragé de guerre,
Ny le Gaulois ardant, ne le More qui erre . . .
N'ont peu iamais domter: Ainçois la teste basse,
N'osant deuant son oeil leuer leur humble face,
Se courbent a ses loix, seruilement croisant
Les bras bouclez au dos d'vn gros carcan pesant.
(*Cor.* 37 ff.)

But they by forraine force cannot be mov'd:
By Romans, Romans onely may be match'd;
And I at last have kindled civill warre, . . .
The Sonne the Syre, the brother brother wounds; . . .
Not onely hath he daunted by the Sword
The Gauls, the Germans, and th' Aegyptians now,
But of all lords pretends to be made Lord,
That who command the world to him may bow . . .
That the subjected world in bondage grones.
(*J. C.* 179 ff.)

The second act of Alexander's tragedy seems to have been modeled on the fourth act of *Cornélie*. In the latter play,

[59] Cf. also, the following lines from the second chorus of *Cornélie:*

Encor les murailles leuées
Par vne pastorale main,
Dans le sang fraternel lauées
Rougiront de meurtre inhumain.

there are two scenes in the act; one between Cassius and Decimus Brutus, and the other between Cæsar and Antony. Act II of Alexander's tragedy opens with a scene between Cæsar and Antony, and contains a second scene between Cicero and Decius Brutus. The character of Cæsar is much alike in the two plays. Alexander's Cæsar, lke Garnier's, is a heaven-storming, earth-conquering braggart, who yet protests his generous public spirit and benevolence, and insists that it is not his own welfare but Rome's that he is seeking. The Cicero of Act II of *Julius Cæsar* is without doubt taken directly from Garnier's play, as he is unlike the Cicero of Plutarch and of the other dramas on the subject, and is identical with Garnier's Cicero in many respects. Not a few of the expressions of Garnier's Cicero are put by Alexander into the mouth of the transplanted Cicero.

Professor Kastner points out[60] the interesting fact that Alexander's Decius Brutus is drawn from the Decimus Brutus in *Cornélie,* whom Garnier had confused with Marcus Brutus. Alexander thus, curiously enough, has two Brutuses, Decius and Marcus, the first of whom has no true historical counterpart whatever, but whose prototype is (by confusion) the same Marcus Brutus of Plutarch. The character of Marcus Brutus in Alexander's play is also colored to some extent by the Decius Brutus of Garnier.[61]

The whole of this second act of *Julius Cæsar* is little more than a tissue of phrases, words, and suggestions obtained from Garnier, which it would be tedious and unnecessary to quote in their entirety. Some of the more important borrowings of the Scottish poet will be listed for comparison with their French original:

> Les Gaulois qui iadis venoyent au Tybre boire,
> Ont veu boire sous moy les Romains dans le Loire:
> Et les Germains affreux, naiz au mestier de Mars,
> Ont veu couler le Rhin dessous mes étendars.

[60] P. 476.
[61] Cf. MacCallum, *Shakespeare's Roman Plays,* pp. 40 ff.

Les Bretons enfermez au Royaume liquide
Du marinier Neptune, ont pris demoy la bride
Prosternez à mes pieds.
(*Cor.* 1341 ff.)

The Gauls no more presuming of their might,
I (wounding Neptunes bosome with wing'd trees)
Did with the world-divided Britains fight;
The Germans from their birth inur'd to warre,
Whose martiall mindes still haughtie thoughts have bred,
Whil'st neither men, nor walls, my course could barre,
(Mask'd with my banners) saw their Rhene runne red.
(*J. C.* 348 ff.)

I'atteste Iupiter qui tonne sur terre,
Que contraint malgre moy i'ay mene ceste guerre:
Et que victoire aucune où i'apperçoy gesir
Le corps d'vn citoyen, ne me donne plaisir:
Mais de mes ennemis l'enuie opiniâtre,
Et le malheur Romain m'a contraint de combatre.
(*Cor.* 1377 ff.)

The highest in the heaven who know all hearts,
Do know my thoughts as pure as are their Starres,
And that (constrain'd) I came from forraine parts
To seeme uncivill in the civill warres. . . .
Still when my hand gave wounds, my heart gave groanes;
No Romans bloud was shed, but I shed teares:
(*J. C.* 383 ff.)

Cornelia, in Garnier's play, apostrophizing her late husband, Pompey, says,

Et que Romme t'ait veu trionfer à trois fois
Des trois parts de la terre asseruie à ses loix?
(*Cor.* 321-2)

In Alexander's play, Antony uses the expression:

Great Pompey (loe) who was growne ag'd in armes,
And had triumph'd o're all the worlds three parts.
(*J. C.* 439-40)

Part of the stichomythic dialogue between Cæsar and Antony is borrowed by Alexander:

A. Aux ennemis domtez il n'y a point de foy.
C. En ceux qui vie et biens de ma bonte recoiuent?
A. Voire mais beaucoup plus à la Patrie ils doiuent.
C. Pensent-ils que ie sois ennemy du pais?
A. Mais cruel rauisseur de sez droits enuahis.
C. I'ay à Rome soumis tant de riches prouinces.
(*Cor.* 1408 ff.)

C. The best are bound to me by gifts in store.
A. But to their Countrey they are bound farre more.
C. Then loath they me as th' Enemy of the state?
A. Who freedom love, you (as usurper) hate.
C. I by great battels have enlarg'd their bounds.
(*J. C.* 519 ff.)

C. On fait bien d'ennemis quelquefois des amis.
A. On fait plus aisément d'amis des ennemis.
(*Cor.* 1419-20)

A. I would have all my foes brought to their ends.
C. I rather have all my foes made my friends.
(*J. C.* 503-4)

Et encor l'iniuste arrogance
D'vn Tarquin ardant de fureur,
Tiendra la Romaine vaillance
En espouuentable terreur.
Encor d'vne chaste Lucréce
L'honneur coniugal outragé
Sera par sa main vengeresse
Dessur son propre sang vengé.
(*Cor.* 603 ff.)

Since chaste Lucretia (by proud Tarquin stain'd)
Wash'd with her bloud the violated bed,
Whil'st by his power Rome basely was constrained,
All to obey which his curst braine had bred.
(*J. C.* 567 ff.)

Ils vouloyent vostre gloire abatre, et le Destin
A renuerse l'effect de leur vouloir mutin,
Vostre los merite s'est accreu de la honte
D'eux, qui de vos vertus ne vouloyent faire conte.
(*Cor.* 1383 ff.)

Loe those who striv'd your vertue to suppresse,
(As whose great actions made them jealous still)
Whil'st labouring but too much to make you lesse,
Have made you to grow great against your will.
(*J. C.* 367 ff.)

D'auoir veu les yeux bas tant de grands Rois barbares
Apporter à tes pieds leurs sceptres et tiares,
T'embrasser les genoux.
(*Cor.* 315 ff.)

Then he whose knees had oft been kiss'd by Kings,
(Most highly happy, had he dy'd in time.)
(*J. C.* 835 ff.)

Sylle estant assailli de la force aduersaire,
S'arma pour se defendre et de Cinne et de Maire:
Les desfit, les chassa, puis s'estant asseuré
Deuestit le pouuoir qu'il n'auoit desiré,
Ne retint le Royaume.
(*Cor.* 1143 ff.)

So Silla (though more inhumane then he)
Whilst having all to what his heart aspir'd,
The Soveraignty resign'd, and set Rome free,
When expectations date was quite expir'd.
(*J. C.* 1039 ff.)

Nostre Tyran vaincueur, hautain de sa fortune,
Vient ores trionfer de la perte commune:
Nous le voyons terrible en vn char éleué,
Trainer l'honneur vaincu de son peuple esclaue.
(*Cor.* 1095 ff.)

When as the Senators (no more their owne)
Came to that Tyrant whom ambition blindes. . . .
He (in a Chaire imperiously plac'd)
Not daign'd to rise, nor bow in any sort.
(*J. C.* 1071 ff.)

Ie l'aime cherement, ie l'aime, mais le droit
Qu'on doit à son pais, qu'à sa naissance on doit,
Toute autre amour surmonte.
(*Cor.* 1125-7)

I owe him much, but to my Country more. . . .
I Caesar love, but yet Romes enemy hate,
And as Iove lives, I could be mov'd to shed
My bloud for Caesar, Caesar's for the State.
(*J. C.* 1140 ff.)

César. La mort qu'on ne preuoit, et qui nous se darde
D'vn effort improueu sans qu'on s'en prenne garde,
Me semble la plus douce.
(*Cor.* 1453 ff.)

Straight Caesar, (as transported) to the rest,
With a most sudden exclamation cry'd:
O! of all deaths, unlook'd for death is best.
(*J. C.* 1988 ff.)

M. A. Ayez à vostre porte,
Et à l'entour de vous vne garde bien forte.
C. Il n'est telle seurté qu'en l'amitié des siens.
M. A. Il n'est telle rancueur qu'elle est de citoyens.
C. Il vaudroit mieux mourir que viure en deffiance.
M. A. Souuent se deffier est estimé prudence.
(*Cor.* 1446 ff.)

Cal. To fright your foes with bands be backed about.
Caes. So dastard tyrants strive themselves to beare.
Cal. It better is to give, then to take feare.
Caes. No guard more strong then is the peoples love.
Cal. But nought in th' earth doth more inconstant prove . . .
Caes. I rather dye then feare: at last life goes.
Cal. Yet, death must grieve, when forc'd by vaunting foes.
(*J. C.* 2126 ff.)

Charon le nautonnier iamais ne repassa
Aucun esprit humain pour retourner deça.
(*Cor.* 461-2)

Ah! th' unrelenting Charon's restlesse Barge
Stands to transport all o're, but brings none back.
(*J. C.* 2577-8)

The foregoing series of parallels between Alexander's *Julius Cæsar* and Garnier's *Cornélie* proves that the Scottish

poet was influenced to a great extent by the French play, either in its original form, which is more likely, or in the translation by Kyd. Lester prefers to consider the *César* of Grevin as Alexander's immediate and direct source and model, and thinks that Garnier's merely furnished additional suggestions. But in view of the fact that the only evidence for proving that either Garnier's or Grévin's tragedy influenced the English play is by means of parallels, and, since as many parallels can be drawn between the tragedy of Garnier and that of Alexander as between Grévin's tragedy and the latter, there seems to be no compelling reason for accepting Grévin's tragedy as the definite model. In only one instance—Act IV, Scene 1, where Decius Brutus, Marcus Brutus, and Cassius meet in the course of their conspiracy against Cæsar—does Alexander have a scene which is found in Grévin and not in Garnier; and since the incident is found in Plutarch, Alexander may quite easily have taken it from that source.[62] The dialogue between Cæsar and Marc Antony, which constitutes the first scene of Act II in Alexander's play, and which Lester thinks Alexander took from Grévin, is more likely to have come from the similar dialogue between Antony and Cæsar in Act IV of *Cornélie,* in view of the Scottish poet's great familiarity with Garnier's play, and of the very generous use, which as we have already seen, he made of this particular act. It is quite possible, however, that Grévin may have suggested it to Garnier, since, as Lester points out, it has no original in Plutarch. Again, although Grévin is the only classical dramatist before Alexander who emphasizes Cæsar's fear as a dramatic motive, the timorous Cæsar of Alexander's play could have been easily developed from Plutarch's suggestions, independently of Grévin. Whatever may be the extent of Alexander's indebtedness to Grévin, however, we are more concerned here with the very real and positive debt which, as

[62] Kastner (p. 478) is inclined to the view that Alexander's arrangement of the scene is independent of Grévin.

we have seen, he owed to Garnier's *Cornélie,* as well as to others of Garnier's dramas.

Alexander was apparently familiar with all of Garnier's plays, if we may judge from the numerous similarities in thought and expression between his dramas and those of the French tragedian. A few of them will be sufficient to illustrate his use of suggestions from the French poet's plays:

O grand Dieu Iupiter,
Peus-tu voir vne horreur si grande, et l'escouter?
Ou est ton foudre ardant, qu'ireux tu ne le dardes
Tout rougissant d'esclairs sur les temples paillardes
De cette malheureuse! Es-tu si paresseux,
O Pere es-tu si lent a nous lancer tes feux?
Que le ciel, esclatant au bruit de son tonnerre,
Iusques aux fondemens ne renuerse la Terre?
(*Hip.* 1439 ff.)

Can Heaven behold one stand to staine these times,
Yet to the Stygian streames not headlong hurld?
And can th' earth beare one burden'd with such crimes,
As may provoke the wrath of all the world?
Why sends not Iove, to have my course confin'd,
A death-denouncing flash of rumbling Thunder?
(*J. C.* 1375 ff.)

La mort fait terminer tout angoisseux martyre. . . .
Elle est aux affligéz vn desirable port.
(*Hip.* 1690 ff.)

Death is the port where all may refuge finde,
The end of labour, entry unto rest.
(*Alex. Trag.* 2449-50)

Et comment souffrez-vous que les songes vous
troublent? . . .
Ce sont de nostre esprit vaines illusions. . . .
On songe volontiers ce que de iour l'on pense.
(*Cor.* 664 ff.)

Croe. But yet I blush to tell my foolish care:
The fond illusion of a drowsy braine.

Adr. According to the bodies constitution,
The soule by night with fancies is afflicted,
Or by these thoughts continual revolution
To which by day the mind is most addicted.
(*Crœsus* 789 ff.)

Il n'est trespas plus glorieux
Que de mourir audacieux
Parmy les troupes combatantes,
(Que de mourir deuant les yeux)
De tant de personnes vaillantes.
(*Por.* 1378 ff.)

And for great Captaines no more glorious death,
Then to dy fighting with a minde unmov'd.
When it appear'd where victory did tend,
That armies courage with their Captaine fell.
(*Alex. Trag.* 1879 ff.)

In addition to these more or less extended passages of parallel thought and expression, there are scattered here and there through the plays of Alexander separate lines and expressions which echo Garnier. Thus, Garnier's Polyxena in *La Troade* remarks (1701),

Ie deualle aux Enfers en l'Auril de mon age,

and Cæsar in Alexander's play declares (611-12),

Though whil'st in the Aprill of my blooming age,
I from the vulgar rate redeem'd my name.

Garnier in a description of dreams calls a dream

Qu'vn vain semblant, qu'vn fantôme, vne image,
(*Hip.* 237)

and Alexander in a similar passage defines it as

A fancy, froth, a shadow, nothing.
(*Crœsus* 769)

One more example may be given. The chorus in the fourth act of *La Troade* develops the thought that grief is lessened by sharing it:

> Nos gemissemens sont plus doux
> Quand chacun gemist comme nous:
> Nostre douleur est moins cuisante
> Et mord nos coeurs plus lentement.

Alexander in *Crœsus* (783 ff.) develops the same theme, beginning,

> No doubt, it must disburden much the minde,
> A Secretary in distresse to have;
> Who by his owne another's griefe can finde,
> Where glad mindes scorne what they cannot conceive.

The first two of Alexander's tragedies, *Darius* and *Crœsus,* have a very large number of Scottish words and expressions, but after he became established in England, and came into contact with the English literary circles, he revised the two tragedies, replacing most of the Scotticisms by English expressions. It is just possible that the group of Lady Pembroke, with their passion for elegance in language and purity of diction, may have influenced the Scottish poet to some extent in this refurbishing of his plays.

Before leaving Alexander, we shall consider some of the differences between his treatment of the story of Julius Cæsar and that of Shakespeare. There is no better way, perhaps, of illustrating the great gulf that was fixed between the drama that was fostered by Garnier in England and the romantic drama, of which Shakespeare is the great exponent and exemplar. It will not be necessary to go into details, but some of the salient characteristics of the two tragedies may be pointed out.

Alexander's tragedy, in the first place, observes the classical rules of unity, the scene of the entire play being Rome, the time one day, and the action confined to one small group of persons and one particular end. In Shakespeare's play, the scene is laid in three different places—Rome, the environs of Sardis, and the field of Philippi. The action covers part of six different days, with intervals between them. There are only ten characters in Alexander's play, as against the thirty-nine prime characters listed in Shakespeare's *dramatis*

personæ, and additional 'Senators, Commoners, Guards, Attendants,' and an army or two. Nine scenes are provided for in the one play, and eighteen in the other. In only one scene of Alexander's play are there as many as four characters on the stage at once, while Shakespeare frequently has a stage full of people.

The opening scenes of the two tragedies are thoroughly characteristic. The Scottish poet's tragedy begins with the goddess Juno pronouncing an execration of some 240 lines against Cæsar. The first scene of Shakespeare's play introduces a rabble of citizens in the streets of Rome, and other flesh-and-blood creatures, who, with their droll puns and witticisms, help to amuse the audience. All comic matter is carefully excluded from Alexander's tragedy, and no speech is allowed in it which does not, to the author's mind, appear suitably dignified for tragedy. No action whatever is permitted to take place on the stage in the one play, while the other is full of action from the first scene to the last. One-eighth of Alexander's entire play is taken up with monologue, of which there is almost none in Shakespeare's play; and another eighth of the former tragedy consists of the choruses, of which there are none in Shakespeare's tragedy. The latter poet uses prose at times, as in the speech of Brutus (3. 2), whereas Alexander never changes from his rhymed quatrains except in the choruses, which are in varied verse-forms. The death of Cæsar, which takes place off stage in the Alexander play, and is reported by the nuntius in the fifth act, forms the most dramatic part of the third act in Shakespeare's drama.

The arrangement and plan of the two plays, it can thus be seen, are entirely unlike. The style, the language, and the manner of treating any given incident, are also quite different. A few illustrations of the different way in which the two poets develop the same basic suggestion of Plutarch must suffice. What Shakespeare compresses into a few lines, Alexander expands into as many as possible. The scene

between Portia and Brutus is typical: in Shakespeare it occupies about 75 lines, while in Alexander's play it stretches through some 260 lines. Similarly, the sentiment expressed by Brutus in Shakespeare's drama,

> Not that I loved Cæsar less, but that I loved Rome more.

becomes, in Alexander's play, a declamation of some twenty-five lines, the central point of it being the lines,

> I Cæsar love, but yet Rome's enemy hate,
> And as Iove lives, I could be mov'd to shed
> My bloud for Cæsar, Cæsars for the State.

What is perhaps the most typical passage in Alexander's play is his enlargement of the simple words of Plutarch in Sir Thomas North's version, which Shakespeare developed thus (1. 2. 188 ff.):

> Let me have men about me that are fat,
> Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep o' nights:
> Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look;
> He thinks too much: such men are dangerous.

We turn from Shakespeare's four lines, the words of which are almost all of one syllable, to Alexander's verbose improvisation on the same theme (2081 ff.):

> No corpulent sanguinians make me feare,
> Who with more paine theire beards then the' en'mies strike.
> And doe themselves like th' Epicurians beare
> To Bacchus, Mars, and Venus borne alike;
> Their hearts doe alwaies in their mouthes remaine,
> As streames whose murmuring showes their course not deep,
> Then still they love to sport, though grosse, and plaine,
> And never dreame of ought but when they sleep:
> But those high sprites who hold their bodies down,
> Whose visage leane their restlesse thoughts records:
> Whilst they their cares depth in their bosomes drown,
> I feare their silence more then th' others words.
> Thus Cassius now and Brutus seeme to hold
> Some great thing in their minde, whose fire oft smoakes;
> What Brutus would, he vehemently would;
> Thinke what they list, I like not their pale lookes.

The whole difference between the philosophy of the romantic drama, with Shakespeare's works at its head, and that of Garnier and his English devotees, is briefly comprehended in the fact that Shakespeare could write of fat men, using the words *fat* and *sleek-headed,* naked and unadorned terms as they are, and not be ashamed; while Alexander felt it necessary to resort to such fig-leaf verbiage as *corpulent sanguinians.*

One other drama remains to be considered in connection with the plays produced by Lady Pembroke's circle—*The Tragedy of Mariam,* by Elizabeth Carew. It was published in 1613, and has never been reprinted. The titlepage bears only the initials, 'E. C.', but a catalogue published in 1661, containing a list of books sold by Nathaniel Brook and other booksellers, ascribes the play to 'La. Eliz. Carew." W. C. Hazlitt also found in a copy of the play a sonnet inscribed, 'To Dianaes Earthlie Depvtesse and my worthy Sister, Mistris Elizabeth Carye.'[63] The sonnet speaks of the lady as destined

T'illumine the now obscurde Palestine.

a reference apparently to the lady's having written *Mariam,* the scene of which is laid in Jerusalem.

That the drama was written by an Elizabeth Carew (or Carey), has never been questioned; but there has been some doubt as to whether the author was Lady Elizabeth Carew, the wife of Sir George Carew, a kinswoman of Spenser, and the Charyllis of his *Colin Clout's Come Home Again,* or her daughter, Elizabeth, who later became the wife of Sir Thomas Berkeley. In the absence of any positive proof, it is necessary to depend on circumstantial evidence; and such evidence as is available indicates that the author of the tragedy is the younger Elizabeth Carew.

The reasons for ascribing the authorship to her, rather than to her mother, are briefly as follows: No drama by the elder Elizabeth Carew is alluded to in any of the dedicatory

[63] Cf. *Notes and Queries,* 3d Series, 8. 203.

epistles addressed to her by Spenser (*Muiopotmos*), or by Nash (*Christ's Teares Over Jerusalem*), or in the sonnet 'To the most vertuous and beautifull Lady, the Lady Carew,' prefixed to the *Faerie Queene* by Spenser; and, as all of these were written during the period in which she flourished, the assumption is that she had written no drama at that time. Furthermore, in the dedicatory epistle[64] of Nash's *Terrors of the Night,* 1594, which he addresses 'To the new kindled cleare Lampe of Virginitie, and the excellent adored high Wonder of sharpe Wit and sweete Beautie, Mistres Elizabeth Carey, sole Daughter and Heire to the thrice noble and renowned Sir George Carey, Knight Marshall, &c,' he refers to both the young Elizabeth and her mother, saying:

> A worthy Daughter are you of so worthie a Mother; borrowing (as another Phoebe, from her bright Sunne-like resplendaunce) the orient beames of your radiaunce. Into the Muses Societie her selfe she hath lately adopted, & purchast diuine Petrarch another monument in England. Euer honored may she be of the royallest breed of wits, whose purse is so open to her poore beadsmens distresses.

The reference is evidently to a translation of some of Petrarch's sonnets made by the elder Elizabeth Carew,[65] and it is fairly certain that if Lady Carew had also been the author of a drama at this time, it would have been credited to her by Nash in this passage of fulsome praise, along with her translation of Petrarch. *Mariam* had apparently, then, not been written so early as 1594, since it is not credited to either the mother or the daughter. Thus much for the reasons against supposing the elder Elizabeth Carew the author of *Mariam.*

[64] Cf. Nash's *Works,* ed. Grosart, 3. 213 ff.

[65] Dr. A. C. Dunstan, in a Königsberg dissertation of 1908, entitled *An Examination of Two English Dramas: The Tragedy of Mariam* . . . and *The Tragedy of Herod and Antipater* . . . , has very curiously confused the younger and the elder Elizabeth Carew, in thinking that Nash's statement about the translator of Petrarch refers to the daughter. The epistle is expressly addressed to the daughter, and the pronoun in the third person can refer only to the young lady's mother.

In the sonnet mentioned above, addressed by implication to the author of *Mariam,* the reference is clearly to an unmarried woman, 'Dianaes Earthlie Depvtesse,' who is 'vnspotted, chast, diuine,' and the title, 'Lady,' which was always used in referring to the wife of Sir George Carew, is omitted. Instead, the term 'Mistris' is used, as in the case of Nash's dedication to the younger Elizabeth Carew. The title, 'Lady,' is also omitted from the title-page of the drama in 1613, a circumstance which would hardly have occurred had the author been the elder Elizabeth Carew. If we adopt the year 1594 as a *terminus a quo* for the drama, because of the absence of any mention of it at that time, and the year of its publication, 1613, as the *terminus ad quem,* we find the period of nineteen years between the two dates rather outside what we may suppose to have been the period of the elder Elizabeth Carew's literary activity,[66] whereas her daughter, Elizabeth, who was only twenty years of age in 1594, may well have written the tragedy during those years. She was married to Sir Thomas Berkeley about the year 1600, and would thus have retained the name Carew until that date. That the author of *Mariam* was called 'La. Eliz. Carew' in the catalogue of 1661 referred to above, is probably due to the fact that she was remembered as the daughter of Sir George Carew, who later became Lady Berkeley.

The exact identity of the author of *The Tragedy of Mariam* is, however, not of transcendent importance in this study, since it is the characteristics of the play itself rather than the identity or characteristics of its author that require its consideration in this connection. The material for the plot of the play is taken from Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews,* the work that Garnier employed in writing his *Juifves.*

[66] From the inscription on the tombstone of the younger Elizabeth Carew (Berkeley), quoted by Dunstan, p. 11, we find that she died in 1635 at the age of 59. She was thus born about 1574, and her mother was presumably about 40 years of age in 1594.

The author treats the facts as given by Josephus in a very free way, however, and manipulates them to suit herself. The story of the drama revolves around Mariam, the wife of Herod. She finds herself in a court full of intrigues and hatred, and she no longer loves Herod, because of his having cruelly put to death her brother and grandfather. Mariam is hated intensely by Salome, by Doris, a former wife of Herod, and by most of the court. The chief events of the plot are the various intrigues against Mariam and others of the court, which take place while Herod is absent on a visit to Octavius Cæsar, who, now that Antony is dead, is in the ascendant. Herod returns, after having been reported dead, is incensed against Mariam by Salome, and orders Mariam put to death. He immediately laments his rash order, however, and praises Mariam's virtues extravagantly.

The events of the play, it will be observed, take place during the period immediately following the battle of Actium, in which Antony was defeated. We are told in Act I that Mariam's mother, Alexandra, had sent a picture of Mariam to Antony, to cause him to fall in love with her daughter. Mariam is angered when she hears of this, and exclaims:

> Not to be Emprise of aspiring Rome,
> Would Mariam like to Cleopatra live:
> With purest body will I presse my Toome
> And with no favours Anthony could give.

The play is thus linked up with the ever-recurring story of Antony and Cleopatra, which exercised such a fascination over all our group of dramatists.

Mariam has all those marks which distinguish the plays of Garnier's followers in England. It observes the unities even more closely than do most of them. The author is particularly anxious that the reader shall not forget that the events of the play are supposed to take place within a single day, and she presses the point:

> Who euer hath beheld with steadfast eye
> The strange euents of this one onely day, . . .
> This daies euents were certainly ordainde,
> To be the warning to posteritie.

Stage decencies are observed with the same care that we have noticed in the other dramas. She allows a duel to take place in the second act between Silleus and Constabarus, but provides a 'nuntio' to report the death of Mariam in Act V.

The play belongs with the group written after 1600, and, like Daniel's *Philotas* and the plays of Greville and Alexander, is written in rhyme. Its choruses, instead of being lyrical, as are the choruses of the first group, are all didactic and moral, after the fashion of the second group. They are more uniform and regular than the choruses of any other of these twelve tragedies. Each of the choruses has six stanzas, and each stanza has six lines, arranged exactly alike, with the rhyme-scheme, *ababcc*. The following stanzas, from the third and fourth choruses respectively, will illustrate the form, as well as the didactic and moralizing tendency, of the choruses of the entire play:

> And every mind though free from thought of ill,
> That out of glory seekes a worth to show:
> When any's eares but one therewith they fill,
> Doth in a sort her purenes overthrow.
> Now Mariam had, (but that to this she bent)
> Beene free from feare, as well as innocent.

> Had Mariam scorn'd to leave a due unpaide,
> Shee would to Herod then have paid her love:
> And not have been by sullen passion swaide,
> To fixe her thoughts all iniurie above
> In vertuous pride. Had Mariam thus bene prov'd,
> Long famous life to her had been allowd.

The play as a whole is singularly uninspired, and deficient in interest. The verse is without distinction, and becomes at times very tawdry. The author is not a poet, and as a versifier she can be said to exhibit only industrious medi-

ocrity. The play has a historical importance, however, which does not arise from any inherent merits. *Mariam* is, so far as we have any records, the first drama in English written by a woman. The honor of having been the first woman to compose an original dramatic work in English has been ascribed at times to Lady Pembroke,[67] but, as we have seen, her *Antonie* was only a translation. But Lady Pembroke was not even the first female translator of drama into English. Lady Jane Lumley's translation of the *Iphigenia at Aulis*[68] of Euripides preceded the translation of Garnier's *Marc Antoine* by some forty years.

It is also not without interest that the first drama in English by a woman should contain what is perhaps the first vigorous assertion in English literature of woman's rights, and a condemnation of the theory and practice of special privileges for men. Salome, with true feminist[69] fervor, exclaims in Act I of *Mariam:*

> Why should such priviledge to men be given?
> Or given to them, why bard from women then?
> Are men then we in greater grace with Heaven?
> Or cannot women hate as well as men?
> I'll be the custome-breaker: and beginne
> To shew my Sexe the way to freedomes dore,
> And with an offering will I purge my sinne,
> The law was made for none but who are poore.

We have now taken up one by one all of the twelve English plays which show the influence of Robert Garnier's works, either as translations from his originals, or as imitations of them. The study has aimed to indicate the different ways in which the individual writers made use of their general model, and the extent to which they followed the

[67] As, for instance, by Rolfe in his edition of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra,* New York, 1890, p. 22.

[68] Printed in *Malone Society Reprints,* 1909; *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch,* Vol. 46.

[69] The rather noticeable feminist element in Garnier's dramas has been mentioned; see above, p. 53.

dramatic principles which guided Garnier in writing his tragedies. We now pass to a consideration of the twelve plays taken together, in order to show more fully how Garnier's influence affected them as a group, and made them different from other English plays.

The differences between the dramatic theories and practices of Seneca and Garnier have already been discussed in Chapter II, and the principles which led Lady Pembroke to choose Garnier's tragedies as models for English tragedy were examined in Chapter III, and it will be unnecessary to go over the ground again here. Nor shall we review the characteristics which these twelve tragedies under discussion have in common with other English classical tragedies which were written more directly under the inspiration of Seneca's plays. It will be the function of the remainder of this chapter to point out the characteristics, due to Garnier's influence, by which the twelve plays as a group resemble one another, and differ from any other plays in the language.

In the first place, the force of Garnier's example brought about a regularity and similarity of form and arrangement in these plays which are not found in any other tragedies of the day. That is to say, they are more consistently alike among themselves, and adhere more uniformly to a given model, than is the case with any other group of plays in English. Each of the plays contains five acts,[70] and, except in the case of the two translations, each act is followed by a chorus. Outside this group, there is no example among Elizabethan tragedies, with the exception of Jonson's *Catiline,* where exactly this arrangement is found. Many of the classical tragedies in English are more or less like these plays of the Garnier type in arrangement, but always with some important difference. *Gorboduc, Jocasta,* and *The Misfortunes of Arthur,* for example, have, in addition to their

[70] Sir Sidney Lee, *French Renaissance in England,* p. 444, is in error in saying that Lady Pembroke's *Antonie* is 'a brief play in four acts.' Like all other plays of the type, it has five acts.

choruses, a series of dumb shows, following Italian models, and the last-named play has also an epilogue. *Gismond of Salerne* is without dumb show, but is concluded by an epilogue. Kyd's two dramas, *The Spanish Tragedie* and *Soliman and Perseda,* in addition to having an entirely different type of chorus from that of the Garnier plays, have inductions in which the chorus figures, and there is also a dumb show in the third act of *The Spanish Tragedie.* The latter play has only four acts, while *The First Part of Ieronimo* and *Locrine* have no choruses.

The influence of Garnier is especially noticeable in the arrangement of the chorus. The most characteristic features of the plays which followed in the wake of the Countess of Pembroke's translation of *Antonie* are the universal use of rhyme in the choruses, the variety of verse and metrical forms employed, and the predominantly lyrical motives. Some attempt, however small, is made by all of the writers of these plays to differentiate the verse of the choruses from that of the body of the tragedy. In the tragedies outside this group, with the exception of Jonson's *Catiline,* these characteristics do not obtain. No attempt to make the chorus lyrical is evident in them, and, in every case but *Catiline,* the chorus is in the same kind of verse—iambic pentameter—as that used in the rest of the play. Only in three plays outside the group—*Jocasta, The Misfortunes of Arthur,* and *Catiline*—are the choruses even arranged in stanzas.

The composition and function of the chorus in these plays which are based on the Garnier model also differ from those of other English tragedies. In Garnier the chorus is rather closely connected with the action of the tragedy. The fortunes of the persons who compose it are more or less dependent upon those of the principal characters. It is made up, for instance, in the third act of *Porcie* by soldiers who lament their having to be constantly at war on account of their prince's quarrels. In several of the Roman plays, the chorus consists of citizens whom Garnier represents as being, after

all, the chief sufferers from the effects of war. In *Les Juifves,* it is composed of young Jewish women whose fortunes and misfortunes are one with those of their queen. Much the same is true of the chorus in *La Troade,* where we have the daughters of Troy as a chorus, with Hecuba and Andromache as the chief personages. The twelve plays which we have been studying follow Garnier in this arrangement of the chorus. In Daniel's *Cleopatra,* the chorus is made up of citizens upon whose innocent heads have fallen the results of the misdeeds of their queen, and who lament their hard case (790 ff.):

> But is it Iustice that all we
> The innocent poore multitude,
> For great mens faults should punisht be,
> And to destruction thus pursude?
> O why should the heauens vs include
> Within the compasse of their fall,
> Who of themselues procured all?

Again, in the argument of *Philotas,* the same author tells us[71] that the chorus represents 'the multitude and body of a people who vulgarly (according to their affections, carried rather with compassion on Great-mens misfortunes, then with the consideration of the cause) frame their imaginations by that Square, and censure what is done.' In Alexander's *Julius Cæsar,* the chorus consists of Romans who lament the passing of Rome's greatness and liberties under the tyranny of Cæsar, and who look eagerly for a deliverer. Only one play of the group can be said to be an exception to this rule of interweaving the fortunes of the members of the chorus with those of the principal characters—Greville's *Alaham*—in which, as we have seen, the chorus is composed now of Good and Evil Spirits, now of personifications of Time and Eternity. But, even here, the spirits seem at times to have such a controlling interest in the affairs of the per-

[71] P. 105.

sonages of the drama that they can hardly be said to be disconnected from the main action.

An altogether different situation exists in the English tragedies outside our group of twelve. In the plays not influenced by Garnier's dramas, the choruses are as a rule quite detached from the action. Often there seems to be no connection whatever, and the chorus is thought of as being merely a poem appended to the act, rather than the expression of a group of people on the stage. And where this is not the case, the group representing the chorus differs materially from the chorus in the plays which we have been considering. In *Gorboduc,* the chorus consists of 'foure auncient and sage men of Brittaine,' who in a detached way observe the action and comment on it. The chorus in *Gorboduc* has, as Cunliffe points out,[72] the new function of expounding to the audience at the end of each act the significance of the dumb show presented at the beginning of the act. In *Gismond of Salerne,* the chorus consists, somewhat similarly, of four gentlemen of Salerno, who utter platitudinous comments on the situation.

In *The Spanish Tragedie,* Kyd economically uses the Ghost of Andrea and the personification of Revenge as a chorus. At the close of the first scene of the play, Revenge says to the Ghost:

> Heere sit we downe to see the misterie,
> And serve for Chorus in this Tragedie.

In *Soliman and Perseda,* the chorus is composed of Love, Fortune, and Death, in a setting quite unlike that of any of the Garnier plays. In *Jocasta,* the directions at the beginning of the first act provide rather perfunctorily for a chorus:

> Jocasta the queene issueth out of her Pallace, before hir twelve gentlemen, following after hir eight gentlemen, whereof foure be the Chorus that remayne on the Stage after hir departure.

The chorus in Marlowe's *Faustus* is simply an ideal spectator, who informs the audience of what is happening, and

[72] *Early English Classical Tragedies,* p. 301.

comments on its significance. The chorus in Peele's *David and Bethsabe* consists likewise of spectators who explain the action to the audience, and have, in addition, the somewhat peculiar function of supervising to some extent the representation of the play—a combination, as it were, of prologue, chorus, and stage-manager. Thus, the chorus at the end of Act II of Peele's play concludes:

> Now since this storie lends vs other store
> To make a third discourse of Dauids life,
> Adding thereto his most renowned death
> And all their deaths that at his death he judgd,
> Here we end this; and what here wants to please,
> We will supplie with treble willingnesse.

In none of these plays, it will be observed, has the chorus the intimate connection with, and dependence upon, the action of the tragedy that is characteristic of Garnier's plays, and the English plays produced on the Garnier plan. A good illustration of the difference which the invasion of the influence of Garnier into Elizabethan drama made in the chorus, may be had from a comparison of a portion of a chorus from Kyd's *Spanish Tragedie,* which is absolutely without any influence of Garnier, with a passage from one of the choruses[73] of *Cornelia,* his paraphrase of Garnier's tragedy:

Enter a dumme shew.

Ghoast. Awake, Reuenge; reueale this misterie.
Reuenge. The two first the nuptiall torches beare
As brightly burning as the mid-daies sunne:
But after them doth Himen hie as fast,
Clothed in Sable and a Saffron robe,
And blowes them out, and quencheth them with blood,
As discontent that things continue so.

[73] Lester, in his dissertation already referred to, has an elaborate table of statistics as to the length, properties, quality, etc., of the choruses in the plays of Seneca, Jodelle, Grévin, Garnier, several plays of Lady Pembroke's school, and some of the earlier English classical tragedies. His figures show the differences between the tendencies of French tragedy in general and those of the purely Senecan plays, with respect to length of choruses, etc.

Ghoast. Sufficeth me; thy meanings vnderstood,
And thanks to thee and those infernall powers
That will not tolerate a Louers woe.
Rest thee, for I will sit to see the rest.
Reuenge. Then argue not, for thou hast thy request.
(*Sp. Trag.* 3. 15. 28 ff.)

A Chorus of Caesars friends.

O Faire Sunne, that gentlie smiles
From the Orient-pearled Iles,
Guiding these our gladsome daies
With the beautie of thy rayes:

Free fro rage of ciuill strife
Long preserue our Caesars life,
That from sable Affrique brings
Conquests whereof Europe rings.

That of care acquitting vs
(Who at last adore him thus),
He a peaceful starre appeare,
From our walls all woes to cleere,

And so let his warlike browes
Still be deckt with Lawrel boughes,
And his statues new set
With many a fresh-flowred Coronet.
(*Cor.* 4. 2. 168 ff.)

A somewhat less important detail of form, borrowed from Garnier, is a characteristic of all the twelve plays in our group, and helps to distinguish them from other English tragedies. This is the custom of arranging stichomythic dialogue in rhymed couplets, a practice begun by Lady Pembroke in imitation of Garnier's couplets, and followed by all the other writers of our group. No other tragedies in the language outside the group influenced by Garnier have the dialogue so arranged. In some plays, as in *Tancred and Gismunda,* the dialogue is arranged in irregular rhymes; and in others, like *The Misfortunes of Arthur, Jocasta,* and *The Spanish Tragedie,* the stichomythic dialogue is in blank verse, but in no English tragedies outside our group is it in rhymed couplets. A few examples of this arrangement will suffice:

Hécube. Ils n'égalent en rien nos miseres fatales.
Cassandre. Les miseres des Grecs sont aux nostres égales.
H. Quand nous n'aurions souffert que ce siège outrageant.
C. Ils n'ont pas moins souffert que nous, en assiègeant.
H. Nos murs sont engloutis de flammes vagabondes.
C. Leurs vaisseaux periront engloutis par les ondes.
H. Nous auons veu mourir nos maris deuant nous.
C. Leurs femmes n'ont pas moins perdu leurs chers espous.
H. Depuis dix ans entiers nous n'auons fait que plaindre.
C. Depuis dix ans entiers elles n'ont fait que craindre.
(*Tro.* 358 ff.)

Salome. How can my joy sufficiently appeare?
Pheroras. A heavier tale did never pierce mine eare.
S. Now Salome of happinesse may boast.
P. But now Pheroras is in danger most.
S. I shall enjoy the comfort of my life.
P. And I shall loose it, loosing of my life.
S. Joy, heart, for Constabarus shall be slaine.
P. Grieve, soule, Graphina shall from me be tane.
S. Smile, cheekes, the fair Silleus shall be mine.
P. Weepe eyes, for I must with a child combine.
(*Mariam* 3. 2. 25 ff.)

Parmenio. If Alexander, I, so would I doe.
Alexander. If I Parmenio were, so would I too.
P. So you binde Souldiers, let them Dames redeeme.
A. Save thankes, or praise, no treasure I esteeme.
P. Even good proves ill when done unto a foe.
A. What greater glory then to conquer so?
P. Gold is the God that conquers in all parts.
A. True magnanimity doth ravish hearts.
(*Darius* 337 ff.)

Solyman. Hath Achmat other greatnessè than by me?
Rossa. If greater by you than your selfe he be.
S. In kings the secrets of creation rest.
R. Sir! you created him: he all the rest.
S. I gave that to his worth, faith, industrie.
R. And so these gifts tyed to your children be.
S. What can his age expect by innovation?
R. Ambition gets by doing, estimation.
(*Mustapha* 4. 3. 63 ff.)

Caesar. And is it vertue then to be misused?
Octavia. To giue no cause why we should be abused.
C. Do but consent, Ile act, and beare the blame.
O. To giue consent to sinne, is sinne & shame.
C. And is it sinne to punish leawdnesse then?
O. Sinne to exult upon repentant men.
C. But he persists in hatefull treacherie.
O. True loue may spring from pardoned iniurie.
(*Octavia* 1210 ff.)

Another matter, unimportant in itself, may be noticed in passing, as serving to show the very close adherence of writers of our group to Garnier's practice in matters of form. All of the *sentences,* that is, the moral observations, maxims, etc., in which the tragedies of Garnier abound, are indicated by quotation-marks, and this custom of denoting such observations is followed in general by his English imitators. Daniel, instead of using quotation-marks for emphasis, makes a slight indentation in the margin before such expressions. The practise of using quotation-marks to mark such sentences is not confined to Garnier or the members of Lady Pembroke's group, but is not practised so assiduously in any other plays as in these.

Having examined the influence of Garnier's works on the external forms and arrangement of these English plays, we now pass to the discussion of his influence on other aspects of them. We have already seen to what a great extent Garnier was preoccupied with historical subjects as themes for tragical treatment, and, in taking up the individual plays of these English adherents of his, we have observed the same fondness for material relating to history and politics. Without excluding the personal and individual elements in their tragedies, both Garnier and the English dramatists that we are studying project the individual personalities of their plays against the background of national events. The English dramas that followed the lead of Garnier are, therefore, unlike the 'family dramas' of Seneca and the other English classical writers, with their overwhelming interest in themes

of domestic feuds, quarrels, murders, incests, and the inevitable desire for vengeance that follows such deeds. The spirit and atmosphere of these twelve dramas is wholly unlike that of such tragedies as *Arthur, Gismond, The Spanish Tragedie, Locrine,* etc. The statement in a recent work[74] to the effect that 'apart from Marlowe it is probable that tragedy before 1600 is all closely linked with the idea of Revenge for the family honor,' is therefore not correct. Apart from Marlowe and the plays of Garnier's followers, however, the statement is true for all practical purposes.

One other aspect of Garnier's influence on the subject-matter of his English adherents, of which some mention has been made already, is his exclusion of comic material from his plays. Garnier dealt only with what Scaliger and the other classicists considered fit subjects for treatment in tragedies—'Reges, Principes, ex vrbibus, arcibus, castris'[75]—and in this matter he was followed unswervingly by the authors of the twelve plays under consideration. This seriousness of purpose in both the French and the English plays, and the intense preoccupation with matters of history and philosophy, led to another of their most conspicuous traits—the entire absence of dramatic activity, and their sole concern with rhetorical dissertations and long-winded disquisitions upon conventional subjects of morals and conduct. What they desired above all was beautiful speaking parts, and they were, accordingly, divorced from the stage entirely, whereas the other classical tragedies of the day were produced for the stage, and succeeded with its devotees.

The dramas produced by Garnier, and such men as Daniel, Greville, and Alexander, were intensely personal matters. There was no collaboration among them, as there was with the producers of the popular tragedy. One cannot conceive of Greville, for instance, working with any other person in the production of such tragedies as *Alaham* and *Mustapha.*

[74] Spens, *Elizabethan Drama,* London, 1922, p. 65.
[75] Scaliger, *Poetices Libri Septem,* ed. Geneva, 1561, I. 6. 11.

The work of each of our authors represents a distinctly individual approach to the theme treated, however conventional that theme may be in itself.

We come, lastly, to a consideration of the influence of Garnier on the language and style of the twelve plays, one of the most important and interesting aspects of his connection with Elizabethan drama. In considering this phase of the matter, however, it will not be the contention of this study, as will appear from the discussion, that all the linguistic and stylistic qualities of these twelve plays are peculiar to them, and are in every case due to the direct influence of Garnier. But we shall attempt to show the striking correspondence between the manner of Garnier and that of the writers of this group of plays, a correspondence so striking in places that, although the mannerisms to be noted are not entirely peculiar to them, they seem to be in these instances directly traceable to Garnier's works.

This influence is noticeable first in the diction of the plays. We have already said something of the character and work of the French Pleiade, particularly of its efforts to enrich the French language by adding Latinisms, and by otherwise imitating the ancient languages. The manifesto of the movement, Du Bellay's *Deffense et Illustration de la Langue Françoyse,* was issued in 1549. Garnier's activity came during the later years of the influence of the Pleiade, and his style is not so excessively Latinized as that of Du Bartas, for instance, but his diction is nevertheless sufficiently influenced by the Pleiade to attract attention to itself, and to require some attention in this study. His language at once recalls Scaliger's dictum[76] about the speech of characters in tragedy, which should be, he says, 'Oratio gravis, culta, a vulgi dictione aversa.' Garnier exhibits the conscious effort to enrich the language by the coinage of new words, and by the employment of Latinisms. Some of his coinages are words like

[76] P. 11.

enfruiter, horribler, exclaver, orager, bavoler, chetiver, redifier, escumasser, demaisonner, patronner, hosteler, testifier. His adjectives include such unusual forms as *larval, verdureux, vinotier, tétrique, bustuaires, adextre, sepulturable, animeux, bluettant.*

Hauréau points out[77] that many of Garnier's favorite expressions are but literal translations of phrases from various Latin poets. Thus the French poet's *cordage de l'amour* is the *vincula amoris* of Ovid, and his *austere trogne* is the same Latin poet's *durum supercilium.* The *nuit brunette* of Garnier corresponds to the *nigræ tenebræ* of Statius, and Garnier's characterization of God as 'le grand perruquier' goes back to the *sol crinitus* or *comatus* of Statius. The French phrase *autour de vos rognons* recalls similarly Virgil's *circum præcordia.*

The Pleiade advocated the formation of compound terms and epithets, following the style of the Greeks, and Garnier also follows their dictum in this respect. He has certain series of compounds of which he is especially fond. One is a combination of verbs formed with the preposition *entre,* among them, *s'entre-despouiller, s'entre-occire, s'entre-ambrasser, s'entre-égorger, entre-dehacher, s'entre-ouvrir, entre-affronter, s'entre-creusant.* Another series is formed with the term *porte,* such as *porte-trident, porte-couronne, porte-laine, porte-trousses, porte-rêts.* There are numerous miscellaneous combinations, such as *creve-coeur, lasche-coeur, viste-pieds, contre-mont, mal-sain, lourd-terrestre, mal-voulu, avant-jeu, main-a-main, bien-heurant, aime-fontêines, sonne-pieds, pié-contre-mont, touche-ciel.* These and other similar formations are all the more notable because the French language does not lend itself so readily as the English or the German to the formation of compound words.

Now all these mannerisms of Garnier seem to find their equivalents in the language of the English plays we are

[77] *Histoire Littéraire du Maine,* Paris, 1872, 5. 111.

studying. Garnier's attitude toward enriching his own language, and the means he undertook to enlarge his vocabulary, fitted in well with the movement toward enriching the English language which, as we have seen, was dear to the hearts of the Sidneys and their friends. Gabriel Harvey, in his *Foure Letters,* 1592, takes occasion[78] to thank 'Edmond Spenser, Richard Stanihurst, Abraham France, Thomas Watson, Samuel Daniell, Thomas Nash, and the rest,' for 'their studious endeavours commendably employed in enriching & polishing their native tongue, never so furnished or embellished as of late.' And Sidney, to quote once again his *Defense,*[79] praises the English language for its diversified vocabulary: 'I know some will say it is a mingled language. And why not so much the better, taking the best of both the others?' It was but adding examples to precepts, then, when Lady Pembroke adopted the tragedies of Garnier, with their elaborate word-formations and ornate diction, as models for tragic compositions in England.

Our twelve plays are full of Latinisms, Gallicisms, and words of similar formation, and, while it cannot be proved, and indeed is not likely, that Garnier is the sole cause of the linguistic mannerisms and peculiarities of these plays, it is significant that no other group of plays is so full of newly-coined words, or so marked by the excessive use of words of recent French and Latin extraction. We do not find such terms in *Gorboduc,* or *Jocasta,* or *The Misfortunes of Arthur,* or *Gismond of Salerne.* Marlowe's plays disclose no such attempts to enrich the language, nor does Peele's *David and Bethsabe,* or Greene's *James the Fourth.* It is highly significant that, while Kyd's *Spanish Tragedie* is entirely lacking in such 'inkhorn' terms, and while his *Soliman and Perseda* contains just enough of them to number on the fingers of one hand—*guidresse, edicate, muliebritie, misintend, tralucent*—his translation of Garnier's *Cornélie* abounds in them.

[78] Cf. 1. 218.
[79] P. 55.

At every turn one finds words like *empory, maigre, signorize* (cf. Garnier's *seigneurier*), *insatiat, vassalage, covetize, franchiz'd, champant, surcloys, lynsel, inextinguible, counterbuffe, neglectly, fumous, pesle-mesle, passant regardant, valing, accoustrements, embas'd, souspirable, eternize, ruinate, invocating.* Several of these are taken directly from Garnier.

In the tragedies of Daniel, Greville, Alexander, and Brandon, there is a still larger proportion of such words. Daniel's vocabulary includes terms like *incaptiv'd, fragors, untranspassable, mignion, imbroyle, servitours, defalke, sullivation, unrespective, invulgar, intirenesse, a travers, prizall, discatter, appeached, inregistred, imbred, enterpriz'd, importancy, malicing, concussed, distemperatures, apparency, partialist.*

Among Greville's terms we find *embedlam, misconster, peised, imbured, ravine, enammelling, unprosperities, pose* (to place), *miscensures, advow, imbound, uncompetible.*

Alexander employs more of these *formes savantes* than all of the others together. Of the scores of words of this general character in his four tragedies, the following may be given as typical: *vilipend, delict, ostentive, micidiall, inunding, degener, entender, astrologians, disassert, portentous, enearth, attemptive, avant-couroures, vindicative, disaccustomde, thesaurize, exstirpe, ludibrious, avernall, remordive.*

Brandon contributes terms like *effectuate, unevitable, indurate, stiving, disroyallize.*

In view of the fact that no other plays of the time are marked by such a great number of forms of this kind, and since Garnier's plays display the same tendency in word-formation, and include the germinal suggestions for many of these words in the English plays, there seems to be sufficient reason for thinking that Garnier's plays exercised great influence on these plays in this respect.

The fondness for compound formations, which we have observed in Garnier, is also echoed in these English tragedies. As in the case of so many other matters of this nature, official

sanction had been given to the process of coining such terms in Sidney's *Defense*:[80]

> But for the uttering sweetly and properly the conceits of the mind, which is the end of speech, that hath it [the English language] equally with any other tongue in the world; and is particularly happy in compositions of two or three words together, near the Greek, far beyond the Latin,—which is one of the greatest beauties can be in a language.

Almost every page of these twelve dramas shows how thoroughly the writers of our group shared the fondness of Sidney and Garnier for such compositions.

Lady Pembroke contributes in her translation of Garnier's *Marc Antoine* such formations as the following: *wing-footed, banke-loving, mother-murdering, life-dead, wood-musique, triple-barking, hearte-sick, heart-killing, armor-clogg'd, self-cruel, skie-coullored, back-shooting, ghost-haunted, after-livers, pittie-wanting, turret-wise, death-wounded.*

Daniel is perhaps even bolder in his formations. His plays furnish such examples as *cheere-marrer, after-comming, fortune-following, close-concealed, ever-barking, pleasure-gazing, sweet-sowre, fearefull-frowning, swift-sure, life-desiring, yron-poynted, sorrow-clouded, counsell-keeper, rule-keeper, state-ordainer, winged-footed, ever-memorable.*

Brandon takes over several of Daniel's formations, and forms a good many others of his own, including *scence-following, Mars-conquering, Phoenix-like, mirthe-discovering. life-saving, hart-enchaining, pleasure-bringing, truce-wanting, nighte-blacke, treason-working, wonder-breeding, eagle-sighted, pearle-dropping, pride-scorning, meeremaid-like, Catadupa-like.*

Among the most forceful compounds in the whole language are those of Greville's plays. They are largely substantives, although epithets are found not infrequently. Some of his more striking compounds are *crowne-flatteries, people-*

[80] P. 55.

stage, people-tides, starre-divines, earth-centers, guilt-inflictions, monarch-frame, phenix-fire, all-ill, Babel-destinie, thought-fire, scepter-power, crescent-starre, counter-passions. His adjectives include such terms as *blood-enammelled, thinne-weaved, light-judging, crowne-payd, life-forsaken, Circe-like, shadow-loving, thought-feeding, power-like.*

Alexander's plays furnish the largest number of compounds, as they also furnish the greatest number of Latinized forms. The Scottish poet has scores of compounds of all kinds. Typical of these are *sea-inviron'd, skie-climbing, teeth-ingendred, state-disturbing, gold-embroider'd, snake-tressed, sowre-sweet, soul-ennobled, al-beholding, lip-sicke-lover-like, soule-consuming.*

As in Garnier, there is noticeable in the plays of the English group a particular fondness for certain series of compounds. Such a one is the series of combinations with the term *self*. Among the hundreds of words with this term as a prefix we may find such combinations as the following: *self-unworthinesse, selfe-death, selfe-justice, selfe-harme, self-nesse, selfe-conceipt, selfe-division, selfe-despaire.* The word which Garnier used most often in combination with other words, as we have seen, is *entre,* and his followers show a similar fondness for it, as witness *inter-shock, inter-sowre, inter-changeably, inter-weave.*

All these twelve plays are marked by the generous use of such compounds, and it is significant that no other plays of the time are so full of them. There are no compound expressions whatever in *Gorboduc, Jocasta, Gismond of Salerne,* and *The Misfortunes of Arthur.* Only scattered examples of such terms are to be found in *David and Bethsabe, James the Fourth,* and *Locrine.* To use the works of Kyd once more as an illustration of the difference made by the influence of Garnier, we may note that, whereas his *Spanish Tragedie* is entirely without such compounds, and *Soliman and Perseda* has only a few unimaginative expressions like *drie-shod, lambe-like,* and *milke-white,* his transla-

tion of Garnier's *Cornélie,* on the other hand, is brimful of them. In it we meet such terms as *dead-sad, thorny-pointed, brawn-falne, dead-growne, chyl-cold, murdrer-like, new-framed, stone-cold, slow-pac'd, swift-foote, scarce-seene, flaxen-hair'd, blood-besmeared, sun-bright, sterne-borne, Orient-pearled, blood-thirsting.* Several compounds are found in Marlowe, but their use is not nearly so extensive, and they do not show the variety of formations exhibited in the compounds found in our group.

Collier[81] would attribute Brandon's use of compound words to the influence of Chapman's poetry, particularly to his translation of Homer. But Brandon is not, as we have seen, alone in the use of compound epithets and similar combinations. The first seven books of Chapman's translation of the *Iliad* did not appear until 1598, and several of these plays, in which we have observed a large number of compound expressions, appeared a number of years before that time. Furthermore, Brandon actually uses a number of the terms which are found in Daniel's *Cleopatra,* such as *sorrow-clouded, scepter-bearing,* etc., and, when we recall how closely he followed the *Cleopatra* of Daniel in all other matters, it is unlikely that he would have had to go to another author and another work for inspiration in the coining of words.

Seeing, then, that these compound forms are confined, so far as the drama of the time is concerned, pretty largely to our group of plays, and in view of Garnier's preoccupation with them, we are justified in considering their use by the English authors as connected with the influence of Garnier, even if they cannot in every instance be shown to have come directly from his plays.

It is not alone in individual words and expressions that Garnier's influence is seen on the style of the plays we are considering. All of them give evidence of adherence to foreign forms and modes of expression. What charm they have is for the most part a borrowed one, and their defects

[81] *History of English Dramatic Poetry* 3. 258 ff.

of style are due chiefly to the attempt on the part of their authors to cast their English language in a Gallic mould. Du Méril's characterization of Garnier's language applies very well, *mutatis mutandis,* to that of the English writers of the Garnier persuasion—'une langue beaucoup trop latine, des phrases demembrées, faute de particules, des inversions qui bouleversent la vraie syntaxe, et des mots dont la terminaison seule est française.'[82] We shall now turn to the plays of the English group, to see how their general style was affected by the French of Garnier.

The Gallicisms in the plays of Alexander are particularly noticeable. One of Garnier's most common mannerisms is the use of the word, *pousser,* as in the following couplet from *Porcie* (1926-7):

> Puis, auec vn soupir, qu'elle poussa dehors,
> Elle poussa la vie et l'ame de son corps.

Such an expression, entirely foreign to English usage, is employed by Alexander, as in the following lines:

> Though griefe to me scarce liberty affords,
> To presse forth passions which oppresse my mind.
> (*Alex. Trag.* 1378-9)

The placing of the adjective after the substantive, as in French, is another familiar usage in these plays, as the following lines, taken at random among them, will illustrate:

> O hatefull life? O Queene most lamentable!
> O Antonie by my fault buriable!
> (*Antonie* 1798-9)

> This wardshippe of the king effeminate.
> (*Alaham* I. I. 103)

> Beare witnesse yet, yee good and evill Spirits,
> Who in the ayre invisibly do dwell:
> That these strange paths I walk of uglinesse
> Are forc'd by threatening gulfes of treacherie,

[82] *Du Developpement de la Tragédie en France,* p. 184.

Nourisht by States and times injurious. . . .
What be these agonies indefinite?
What sudden changes secret, violent?
(*Alaham* 1. 1. 10 ff.)

Thou monster horrible! under whose ugly doome . . .
Man's temporall sins beare torments infinite.
(*Alaham* Prologue, 1. 3)

Du Méril's remark on Garnier's habit of inverting the normal order of the sentence has just been quoted. Of such inverted sentences in the French poet's dramas, the following line from *Cornélie* (3. 2. 888) is a specimen:

De nulles passions emouuoir ne se peuuent.

The Latin influence in this sentence is obvious. This habit of inverting the order of the sentences is likewise one of the most striking mannerisms of the English school of Garnier, and indicates the foreign influence which pervades them. The following sentences will illustrate:

O worke they may their gracious helpe impart.
(*Cleop.* 1144)

Sad news mine eares, teares eyes and sighs my breath
Oppress.
(*A. T.* 1377)

Whil'st (lightning comfort to afflicted bands)
He stretched them forth to kisse in severall parts,
By Sword then Scepter his more honour'd hands.
(*A. T.* 1432-4)

In his faire brest he did the gate set ope,
Which to the earth, his bloudlesse lims hath sent:
His dying soule up to the heauens I hope.
(*Oct.* 2240-2)

Keepe we the keyes of conscience and of passion. . . .
No one rule please the universal can.
(*Mustapha* 4. 4. 197, 201)

Both the dramas of Garnier and of our English group of writers are marked by a fondness for repetition of similar sounds, words, and lines. Of the hundreds of lines in which

this trait occurs in both the French and the English plays, we shall find the following typical:

> Est-ce ainsi que le mal est soustenu de vous?
> Est-ce ainsi que le bien porte vostre courrous?
> (*Por.* 1614-5)

> Rendez-le moy viuant, viuant vous le receustes,
> Rendez-le ainsi viuant comme viuant vous eustes.
> (*Por.* 1632-3)

> Nos malheurs que Cassandre a furieuse dit:
> Nos malheurs que Cassandre a, de Phebus esmeue.
> (*Tro.* 56-7)

> Ie n'ay peu ie n'ay peu vous estre secourable:
> Ie n'ay peu destourner, ie n'ay peu diuertir.
> (*Antig.* 1441-2)

> One thing should be, and not be beautifull,
> One thing should be, and yet not be the same.
> (*Oct.* 1994-5)

> Would God my life my lifes life might set free,
> Would God the life he gave him life might give.
> (*Dar.* 718-9)

> I mourne for him who in my wombe was form'd,
> I mourne for him in whom love me transformed.
> (*Dar.* 711-2)

> Is greatnesse of this sort,
> That greatnesse greatnesse marres,
> And wrackes it selfe, selfe-driuen
> On Rockes of her owne might?
> Doth Order order so
> Disorders ouerthrow?
> (*Cleop.* 1766 ff.)[88]

One of the most striking mannerisms of both Garnier's tragedies and the twelve English dramas that constitute the

[88] Hubbard, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.* 20, 369 ff., discusses the subject of repetition and parallelism with respect to the whole of Elizabethan drama.

basis of our study, is the custom of using a series of words in the same construction to form a line of poetry. It is one of their most frequent tricks of style, and is not found in any other English plays with anything like the frequency observable in our group. Such lines as the following occur on almost ever page:

> Enflambez, decoupez, brisez, faites resoudre
> Mon coeur, mes nerfs, mes os, et mes poumons en poudre.
> (*Por.* 1648-9)

> Le fer, le plomb, l'acier, execrables metaux.
> (*Por.* 765)

> O barbares, mechans, traistres, abominables.
> (*Cor.* 863)

> Son corps est tout froissé, tout moulu, écaché,
> Rompu, brisé, gachy, demembré, déhache.
> (*Tro.* 1939-40)

> O pariure, mechant, desloyal, affronteur,
> Cauteleux, desguisé, de fraudes inuenteur.
> (*Tro.* 1067-8)

> I heare, I see, I know, I feele, I finde,
> The shamefull wrong, the scorne and high disdaine.
> (*Oct.* 1045-6)

> I may, I can, I will, I ought, I must . . .
> Byrthe, nature, reason, all require the same.
> (*Oct.* 1081-3)

> Then Horses, Dogs, Cats, Rats, all serv'd for food,
> Of which, no horror th' eaters did torment.
> (*A. T.* 3211-2)

> Grief, rage, spite, shame, amazement, and despaire,
> Gall'd toss'd, burn'd, dash'd, astonish'd, and destroy'd.
> (*Crœsus* 997-8)

> Some rag'd, some groan'd, some sigh'd, roar'd
> promis'd, pray'd,
> As blows, falls, faintnesse, paine, hope, anguish,
> mov'd.
> (*Crœsus* 2557-8)

The use of proper names in somewhat similar order, to give a sonorous effect to the verse, is another mannerism of Garnier's which we find used with great industry, if not always with poetical effect, in the plays of the coterie in England:

> L'Aquilon, le Midy, le Couchant, le Matin,
> Et que le blond Soleil, quelque part qu'il pourmeine.
> (*Cor.* 68-9)

> Ia la Gaule, et l'Afrique, et le Pont, et le bord,
> De l'Espaigne esloignée, ou le Soleil s'endort,
> L'Itale, l'Emathie, et l'Egypte sont pleines.
> (*Cor.* 1165-7)

> Les Pergames Troyens, par la Grece destruits,
> De cet amour, Priam, Sarpedon, et Troile,
> Glauque, Hector, Deiphobe, et mille autres, et mille.
> (*M. A.* 288 ff.)

> Le sanglier Erymanthean,
> Le grand lion Cleonean,
> Busire, Eurypyle, et Antée,
> Et l'Hydre au col sept fois testu.
> (*Hip.* 947 ff.)

> Dymnus replies: No worse than Loceus,
> Demetrius of the priuy chamber,
> Nicanor, Amyntas, and Archelopis,
> Drocenus, Alphebetus, Leuculaus,
> Shall be the associats of Nichomachus.
> (*Philotas* 255 ff.)

> Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Cylicia,
> Part of Arabia where those people dwell
> Cald Nabatheians, part of Syria.
> (*Oct.* 598 ff.)

> There he establisht Cleopatra, Queene
> Of Aegipt, Cyprus, and of Lidia, . . .
> And to the eldest gaue Armenia,
> The country Media, and forthwith installed
> Him regent of the kingdome Parthia. . . .

To Ptolemy he gaue Phoenicia, . . .
The vpper Syria, and Cilicia.
(*Oct.* 1398 ff.)

Those fearfull monsters of confus'd aspects,
Chimaera, Gorgon, Hydra, Pluto's Apes.
(*Crœsus* 1399-40)

By Sabins, Albans, Tuscans, oft assail'd,
Yet still Laomedons false race prevail'd. . . .
Then when the gallant Gaules had vanquisht Rome . . .
Great Hanniball our common cause pursu'd . . .
With Consuls and with Pretors bloud, imbru'd,
At Thrasimene, and at Cannas slayne.
(*J. C.* 145 ff.)

Garnier has a large number of conventional expressions which he uses over and over, such as the term *mille,* to express any great number. We find exactly the same habit and in many cases the same words in these English plays:

Maintenant le malheur espine
De mille et mille afflictions.
(*M. A.* 226-7)

Et qu'il est mort pour elle, auecque mille et mille
Belliqueux nourricons.
(*Juifves* 1528-9)

L'on deust auoir desia mille fois coniuré
Mille fois prins le fer, mille fois mis en pieces.
(*Cor.* 1234-5)

O happie he, a thousand times and more,
Whose quiet thoughts so milde a calme do gaine.
(*Oct.* 2154-5)

Yea, many thousand thousands were conjur'd in one.
(*J. C.* 2063)

Though thousand thousands armed stand.
(*Dar.* 1393)

And thousand thousands sought his finall end.
(*Oct.* 144)

> And gripe my heart with sharpe tormenting pawes,
> That thousand times deaths rygour doth excell.
> (*Oct.* 1742-3)

> A thousand torturing deaths cannot suffice.
> (*Crœsus* 1465)

Both Garnier and the poets of Lady Pembroke's circle are addicted to the use of paraphrases and wordy amplifications to express ordinary simple facts. Garnier's terms for the earth, for example, include such expressions as, 'la ronde machine' (*M. A.* 2); 'la mouvante boule' (*Por.* 1223); 'ce grand monde rond' (*Cor.* 1304); 'ce globeux seiour' (*Tro.* 1211); 'ce rond terrien' (*Antig.* 2093); and 'ce rond spacieux' (*Antig.* 468). The English plays, following the lead of Garnier's tragedies, contribute such terms as 'this peopled round' (*Dar.* 421); 'this inferior round' (*Dar.* 1087); 'the peopled circuit' (*Crœsus* 2385); 'this round' (*A. T.* 33); 'the rolling Circles' (*Crœsus,* 1450); 'this sky-compass'd round' (*A. T.* 1616), etc. It is not necessary to do more than mention the metaphorical use of many words like crown, heart, hand, throne, cottage, sceptre, in both the French and the English tragedies, and the employment by all of our authors of such stock expressions as ivory, alabaster, ebony, marble, etc., to take the place of ordinary words like white, black, hard, etc., etc. There are also throughout the English plays, as throughout those of Garnier, the inevitable and innumerable platitudes contrasting the cottage with the palace, mountains with valleys, poverty with wealth, and all the rest of such poetical paraphernalia as can be worked into the discussion of conventional themes like the futility of man's struggle with fate, the inevitable fall of great men, the iniquity of tyranny, the certain destruction of tyrants, and the thousand and one other aspects of human life and conduct.

Finally, as one reads the plays of the group of English writers we have been studying, one gets the impression that their authors have become saturated with Garnier's manner of expression. They think in terms of Gallic poetry and

rhetoric, and it seems to be easier for them to write in the French vein than in their native English. Such passages as the following, which are thoroughly characteristic of the style of these twelve plays, savor much more of French than of English models of expression:

> What chilling feare doth streame along these vains?
> What frozen terror makes me thus to quake?
> What monstrous griefe, what horror, thus constraines
> My stiuing heart, his lodging to forsake?
> (*Oct.* 574 ff.)

> Is there a Heaven? and are there Heavenly Powers
> To whose decree terrestrial things are thrall?
> Or would the Tyrant that begets the houres,
> (Eternity not spar'd) extinguish all?
> (*A. T.* 3135 ff.)

By way of recapitulation, we may say that these twelve dramas, connected with the movement of the Countess of Pembroke to reform English tragedy, give abundant evidence of the influence exerted on them by the tragedies of Robert Garnier. They are all, as a result, strikingly alike, and strikingly unlike any other dramas in English. Among themselves, however, they exhibit distinct differences, due to the differences of the personalities and the literary capacities of their authors. The Countess of Pembroke and Thomas Kyd, although translating two of Garnier's tragedies that are almost entirely alike in the original, made distinctly different English plays of them. Daniel was avowedly writing a companion-piece to Lady Pembroke's translation, and modeling his tragedy on the same French original, and yet produced a play of notably different tendencies and qualities. Brandon took Daniel's *Cleopatra* for a pattern, and yet, with all the likenesses between his *Octavia* and its model, his work exhibits a vein of sentimentality not even suggested by Daniel. The later group of tragedies, including Daniel's *Philotas* and the works of Greville and Alex-

ander, represents the inevitable tendency of the Anglo-Saxon mind to revert to the consideration of the more serious side of life, to pay more attention to substance than to style, and to forsake lyric for logic. The author of the later plays saw in Garnier a prophet rather than a dramatist, and their works reflect his minatory and moral sentiments rather than his lyrical strains. As for the tragedy of *Mariam,* it was, as it were, born out of due season, after the force of the inspiration which brought about Lady Pembroke's crusade had been well nigh spent, and it has but a meagre portion of the spirit that produced the other dramas of the group.

A period of less than a quarter of a century, therefore, saw the movement spring up with surprising vigor and freshness in the work of Lady Pembroke, and, after a brief struggle for existence in the unfavorable soil of England, go to seed in the heavy philosophical dramas of Fulke Greville and Alexander.

CHAPTER V.

Conclusion: The Failure of Lady Pembroke's Movement.

In the foregoing chapters we have traced the characteristic qualities of the dramas of Robert Garnier, and the significant differences between the tragedies of Garnier and those of Seneca, with attention to the corresponding differences between the English plays produced as the result of Senecan influence, and those inspired more directly by Garnier. We have discussed the causes which induced Lady Pembroke to choose Garnier's tragedies as models for English tragic compositions, and, finally, we have considered the various ways in which Garnier's influence shows itself in these twelve English dramas. It only remains to discuss the causes of the failure of that influence to produce any permanent and positive results in English drama.

The movement of Lady Pembroke was, first of all, too much an affair of the head rather than of the heart. Lamb characterized the tragedies of Fulke Greville as 'frozen and made rigid with intellect,' and this phrase applies after a fashion to the work of the whole group. So far as these compositions purported to be works of dramatic art, they were doomed to failure from the beginning, since their inception was due to an intellectual, and not to a purely artistic motive. There was little or no spontaneity about them, or about the entire movement. The urge to write was largely external, and its beginning was of a somewhat arbitrary nature. Instead of springing from emotional impulses in the hearts of the different authors, the plays were the result of much taking of thought, and calculated in a rational way to produce certain desired ends. The leader of the school had a zeal which was critical rather than creative, and her enthusiasm was that of a scholar, not that of a craftsman.

There is a very noticeable lack of that freedom which is essential to the production of good art, and constant evidence that the plays were written with a utilitarian end in view. The authors of these plays were writing drama not for the drama's sake, but for the sake of certain theories and principles and opinions, or for the sake of certain private ends and aims. Lady Pembroke, from a pure sense of duty, coupled with affection for her late brother and his plans, was led to carry on the work which his untimely death had interrupted. With a somewhat Calvinistic feeling that she was predestined to set right the English tragedy that her brother had found so sorely out of joint, she went about the task with the executive ability of a good housewife. She gathered about her the friends of her brother, admitted promising young poets into the circle, chose the tragedies of Garnier as working models, and formally launched the campaign against the romantic tragedy by herself translating one of his tragedies. What intellect, determination, energy, and executive ability were needed, she supplied. It was not her fault, though her misfortune, that she could not give to the movement the one or two things needful—dramatic instinct and poetical ability.

The entry into the field of tragedy of Samuel Daniel, who of all the group had the greatest portion of poetical genius, was probably due to intellectual, and not to emotional or artistic convictions. It was Lady Pembroke, according to his own admission, who induced him to leave his humbler strains, and aspire to scale the heights of tragedy; and his friend, Edmund Spenser, who achieved greater eminence as a poet than as a critic, was also of the opinion that Daniel's accent would excel in tragic plaints. The work of conversion had been completed by 1594, and his tragic plaints had begun.

There is good reason to believe, as we have seen, that Kyd was attracted to the work of translating Garnier more by the hope of obtaining pecuniary assistance from the leaders

of the movement against the popular tragedy than by any inherent love for Garnier's *Cornélie,* or any great enthusiasm for the ideas and plans of the Countess.

As for Greville and Alexander, it has been made sufficiently clear that their interest in the drama was above all intellectual. They knew nothing of the theory of 'art for art's sake.' Their works are little more than disquisitions on political and moral themes, with the avowed purpose of tracing out the high ways of ambitious governors, and drawing lessons from the fall of princes.

The twelve plays of this group thus came about largely as the result of various external circumstances, different in the case of the different writers, but all more or less contingent upon rational, rather than emotional processes. There is such constant evidence about them of the useful end which they were intended to serve, that they seem at times to belong more to the domain of the useful than of the fine arts. All of them, whatever their virtues, show their authors to have lacked the prime requisites for writing good drama—the dramatic instinct, the proper view of the nature of dramatic action, and the desire and ability to interest the public.

The movement headed by Lady Pembroke was, furthermore, of a clique and for a clique, and it was thus cut off from that great source of popular material and popular inspiration which are fundamentally essential to the production of great drama and great literature. At no point did the work of Lady Pembroke and her coterie come face to face with life as it is. Their direct inspiration came from the tragedies of Garnier, and Garnier had drawn his inspiration and forms and themes not from life, but from the ancients. These English plays are therefore very far removed from life as it is, or as it ever was. They are peculiarly the product of literary associations, contacts, influences, schools, circles, patrons, rules, and conventions. The roots of the drama that was fostered by the Countess of

Pembroke never reached down into the life of the nation. Consequently it was thin and anæmic, and although it was kept alive for a while by special attention and nourishment, it soon died the death to which any kind of literature or art must succumb that is too limited in its appeal, and too highly specialized to flourish of its own accord and without artificial stimulation. All these twelve plays are, like their French prototypes, lacking in that element of sturdiness which comes from contact with the soil, and which is absolutely essential to a healthy existence, whether of plants, animals, or tragedies. The authors of the plays were only theorists, laying down rules for what they considered the proper way to obtain literary and dramatic excellence; but of what Hamlet calls 'the art and practic part of life,' which constitutes the warp and woof of real drama, they knew nothing.

Furthermore, the plant that Lady Pembroke and her friends were so anxious to see growing and bearing fruit in English soil, was too exotic for that stern climate. It had grown very well in France, where it still flourishes to some extent. But Garnier's tragedies, although they have influenced French drama in some degree for three centuries, were impotent in England, chiefly because of the inability of the Anglo-Saxon mind to appreciate the spirit of French classical drama. Tragedies of the type that Garnier wrote were entirely foreign to the genius of English literature. The traditions of the drama of the North were entirely different from those of the drama of the South, and, even though the external form of French drama might be borrowed, and translations made that were literally accurate, the spirit of French classical drama was incapable of being conveyed across the channel. Lady Pembroke's scholarly translation of *Marc Antoine* illustrates this for her own day, and the manipulations of Molière effected by Shadwell and others bear witness to the truth of this fact in the century following. An illuminating remark in this connection, from

the pen of one who had herself experienced the difficulty of presenting French drama to English audiences, occurs in the preface to Mrs. Centlivre's drama, *Love's Contrivance,* published in 1703. She says:

> The French have that light airiness in their temper that the least Glimpse of Wit sets them a laughing, when 't would not make us so much as smile; so that where I found the stile too poor, I endeavoured to give it a Turn; for who e'er borrows from them, must take care to touch the colours with an English Pencil and form the piece according to our Manners.

An English audience, or English readers, might therefore tolerate some of the externals of French drama, whether tragedy or comedy, but they could not away with the interminable soliloquies and monologues of the French school, however well-worded they might be, or however elegant the descriptive passages, or however elegiac and graceful the moralizing. Instead of words the English demanded action—action that should begin with the first scene, and continue with little abatement until the last act was concluded. The attenuation of any sentiment, however noble, into a long monologue, however elegant, they could not endure. The announcement of a death, which in French tragedy would have called forth pages of rhetorical declamation, evokes in an English tragedy the brief response, 'She should have died hereafter.'

Shakespeare's genius and sense of the dramatic fitness of things was able to take certain parts of the French scheme of tragedy—the confidante, the chorus, the nuntius, the soliloquy—and so modify them that they could be assimilated into English tragedy. But as they stood in the French classical drama, and as they were presented in these twelve plays that we have been studying, they were entirely alien to the spirit of English drama and literature.

Finally, another very important cause of the failure of this movement in England was that, like almost all attempts at reformation of whatever kind, it was by nature negative rather than positive. It was from the beginning a matter

of protest. The prime object was to suppress rather than to supply, to prohibit English dramatists from doing certain things rather than to provide them with the means of doing greater work. Lady Pembroke offered them nothing real and tangible, and she would fain have taken away that which they already had. The various members of her coterie were drawn together not because they had so much in common, but because each had a particular grudge against the popular tragedy, or against existing conditions in general. The movement failed, therefore, as any movement must fail which has nothing of solid, permanent value to offer the world.

And yet, notwithstanding the fact that the movement against the popular tragedy was a lost cause from the beginning, Lady Pembroke and her co-laborers were not without honor in their own house and country. There was, without doubt, a much greater respect for the academic drama, which they fostered, among the members of the literary and dramatic profession of their day than is evident to us three centuries after them. Many who wrote openly for the popular stage were in their hearts attached to the principles of the classical drama. Ben Jonson is the most outstanding member of this tribe of Nicodemus, who secretly believed one thing, and practised another. His *Catiline,* as we have seen, is more closely akin to the Garnier type of tragedy than is any other drama outside the group we are studying; and, though need constrained him to violate the rules of classical drama in most of his work, he protests, in the Prologue to *Every Man in His Humour,* that

> he hath not so loved the stage,
> As he dare serve the ill customs of the age,
> Or purchase your delight at such a rate,
> As, for it, he himself must justly hate.
> To make a child, now swaddled, to proceed
> Man, and then shoot up, in one beard, and weed,
> Past threescore years: or, with three rusty swords,
> And help of some few foot-and-half-foot words,
> Fight over York, and Lancaster's long jars.

In some verses 'To the worthy author, Master John Fletcher,' upon the occasion of the failure of *The Faithful Shepherdess,* Jonson again takes occasion to censure the illiterate audience, 'composed of gamester, captain, knight, knight's man,' and similar characters, which had murdered Fletcher's play, which, he continues,

> shall rise
> A glorified work to time, when fire
> Or moths shall eat what all these fools admire.[1]

Beaumont writes to Fletcher in the same vein and on the same occasion,[2] expressing contempt for the public and its opinion of plays; a public, he says,

> Scarce two of which can understand the laws
> Which they should judge by, nor the party's cause.[2]

A further tribute to classical principles of tragedy, the worth of which was acknowledged, even if they were not practised, comes from the pen of John Webster in 1612, in the *Preface to the Reader* prefixed to his *White Devil.*[3] The public is to be blamed for his failure to produce a 'true dramatic poem':

> Willingly and not ignorantly in this kind have I faulted; for should a man present to such an auditory the most sententious tragedy that ever was written, observing all the critical laws, as height of style and gravity of persons, inrich it with the sententious Chorus, and as it were, life in death in the passionate and weighty Nuntius; yet after all this divine rapture, *O dura messorum ilia,* the breath that comes from the uncapable multitude is able to poison it; and, ere it be acted, let the author resolve to fix to every scene this of Horace—
>
> *Haec porcis hodie comedenda relinques.*

Nor, it must be said, were the members of the circle of the Countess of Pembroke under any illusions as to the attitude of the public toward their work. They realized the difficulty

[1] *Works of Beaumont and Fletcher,* ed. Dyce, p. 11.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 8.
[3] Webster's *Works, Mermaid Series,* p. 3.

of the undertaking; and Daniel, for one, made public mention of the failure of the movement. In dedicating *Philotas* to the Prince, in 1605, he laments:

> And I although among the latter traine,
> And least of those that sung unto this land,
> Haue borne my part, though in an humble straine,
> And pleasd the gentler that did vnderstand. . . .
> And all our labours are without successe,
> For either favour or our vertue failes.

The only comfort that was left to him, and to the others of the little band, was that which rose out of the consciousness of their own rectitude. He writes later:[4]

> And let presumptuous selfe-opinion say
> The worst it can, I know I shall haue right.

The account of the influence of Robert Garnier on Elizabethan drama is part rather of the history of English literature than that of the English stage. And the study of this influence is valuable, so far as English literature is concerned, chiefly because it shows us what English drama might have become had it not been for the influence of that *profanum vulgus* which Sidney so hated, and from which his sister and her friends kept themselves so carefully aloof. In France, where the playwrights belonged chiefly to the aristocratic and court circles, the stage for three centuries was limited and conditioned by the rules of classical drama. In England, the great dramatists sprang from the common people, and, like the fabled Antæus, drew their strength from their common mother, the Earth.

The utmost that the efforts of the Countess of Pembroke and her friends could do was to prune away, perhaps, certain excesses from the luxuriant growth of the native drama, and to help inculcate in English tragedy a keener sense of form. There were, at least, no more *Spanish Tragedies* after the period of the influence of Garnier, and if *Gismond of*

[4] Preface to 1607 ed. of *Cleopatra*, ed. Lederer, p. 69.

Salerne had been revised in 1600, instead of ten years earlier, it is altogether likely that its revised form would have shown signs of the influence of the movement of Lady Pembroke.

But for the most part hers was a zeal not according to knowledge; and the efforts of the little coterie, as represented in these dozen tragedies, constitute only the activity of a very interesting, but powerless, current of backwater on the onward-flowing stream of English literature.

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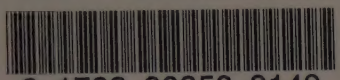

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